

VALERIUS FLACCUS
ARGONAUTICA

BOOK III

EDITED BY

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CONTENTS

<i>Preface</i>	page vii
<i>List of abbreviations</i>	ix
 Introduction	 1
1 <i>The poet: life and times</i>	1
2 <i>The poem</i>	2
2.1 <i>The myth and earlier literary versions</i>	2
2.2 <i>Date of composition and length</i>	4
2.3 <i>Contents and structure</i>	7
2.4 <i>Unity and themes</i>	9
2.5 <i>Gods, fate and humans</i>	12
2.6 <i>The literary tradition: intertexts</i>	16
2.7 <i>Language, style, metre</i>	19
3 <i>Book 3</i>	21
3.1 <i>Contents and structure</i>	21
3.2 <i>Meaning and relevance</i>	25
3.3 <i>Characters</i>	27
4 <i>Text and transmission</i>	31
4.1 <i>Transmission of the Argonautica</i>	31
4.2 <i>This edition of book 3</i>	33
 VALERI FLACCI ARGONAVTICON LIBER TERTIVS	 35
 Commentary	 60
 <i>Works cited</i>	 262
<i>Index</i>	285

PREFACE

While the poetry of the Flavian period has received increasing attention from scholars over the past few decades, it is still not widely taught within the standard Classics curriculum at universities, at least in Great Britain. It features in survey courses of different types, where it is mostly read in translation, but there are only a few courses dedicated to particular Flavian writers and to studying works in the original. One reason for this situation may be a lack of adequate teaching materials. This commentary seeks to take a step in improving the teaching opportunities by presenting the (revised) text of a book from the work of one of the three Flavian epic poets with a commentary in English. Since this book, Valerius Flaccus' *Argonautica* 3, has not yet received a commentary of its own in any language, it is hoped that this volume will also offer material useful to scholars.

Book 3 consists mainly of two narrative sections, the so-called episodes of Cyzicus and of Hylas, which can each be read on their own, although, considered together, they show characteristics of Valerius Flaccus even more clearly. Both have been praised as impressive instances of Valerius Flaccus' remodelling of traditional subject matter (see e.g. Garson 1964: 267, Zissos 2008: xxv n. 76) and therefore offer ample opportunities for intertextual analysis in relation to Apollonius Rhodius' Hellenistic *Argonautica*, which is the model for the entire story, and to preceding Latin epic and tragedy, particularly Virgil's *Aeneid*, in terms of style and form.

This volume has benefited enormously from existing commentaries on Valerius Flaccus, especially those on the entire epic by P. Langen (1896/7) and F. Spaltenstein (2002, 2004, 2005) and that on the first book by A. Zissos (2008), and owes a huge debt to them, as well as to secondary literature on Valerius Flaccus. But in line with the conventions of the series, it has not been indicated when standard elements (e.g. grammatical explanations or parallel passages) have already been noted by earlier studies; equally, for parallels now widely recorded the scholar who first spotted them is not normally identified. Only in particular cases, for instance when contributions are unique or extremely controversial, are detailed references given. Similarly, older conjectures or interpretations not adopted subsequently are typically not mentioned, just as early proponents of views (on text or interpretation) that have become standard are not always listed. When a specific version of the text is explained in the commentary, it is implied that

other readings are regarded as less convincing. To make up for the conciseness in the commentary, the critical apparatus to the Latin text lists significant conjectures for difficult passages.

I am very grateful to the series editors Philip Hardie and Stephen Oakley, who have supported this project from the start and have been extremely generous with their time and expertise in reading through drafts, offering perceptive and helpful comments on the material and its presentation in the commentary. Moreover, it has been a pleasure to discuss issues of mutual interest with Mark Heerink and Neil W. Bernstein, who both have carefully read sections of the draft. As always, Michael Sharp and Elizabeth Hanlon at Cambridge University Press have handled the publication process in a pleasant and efficient manner.

ABBREVIATIONS

AO	<i>Argonautica Orphica</i>
AR	Apollonius Rhodius
G–L	<i>Gildersleeve's Latin Grammar</i> . Third edition revised and enlarged by B. L. Gildersleeve and Gonzalcz Lodge, Basingstoke and London 1895 (several reprints)
LIMC	<i>Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae</i> , 8 vols. + index + suppl., Zurich, Munich and Düsseldorf 1981–2009
LSJ	H. G. Liddell and R. Scott (eds.), <i>A Greek–English Lexicon</i> . Revised and augmented throughout by Sir H. S. Jones, with the assistance of R. McKenzie and with the co-operation of many scholars, 9th edn, 1940. With a Supplement 1968, Oxford 1992
OLD	P. G. W. Glare (ed.), <i>Oxford Latin Dictionary</i> , Oxford 1982
RE	<i>Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft</i> , neue Bearb. begr. v. G. Wissowa, fortgef. v. W. Kroll u. K. Mittelhaus, hg. v. K. Ziegler, Stuttgart 1894–1997
Σ	Scholion
TLL	<i>Thesaurus Linguae Latinae</i> , Leipzig 1900ff.
VF	Valerius Flaccus
Woodcock	E. C. Woodcock, <i>A new Latin syntax</i> , London 1959

Names and titles of works of other ancient authors are abbreviated according to the *Oxford Classical Dictionary* (4th edn, 2012: xxvii–liii).

INTRODUCTION

1 THE POET: LIFE AND TIMES

Valerius Flaccus (VF) is mentioned by name only once in ancient literature, in Quintilian's *Institutio oratoria* (10.1.90): *multum in Valerio Flacco nuper amisimus* – 'We have recently suffered a great loss in Valerius Flaccus.' Because this is part of a survey of epic poets, 'Valerius Flaccus' must refer to the poet whose name is given in the manuscript tradition of the epic *Argonautica*. The poet's death was apparently a 'recent' event (a flexible term) when Quintilian's *Institutio oratoria* was published, for which a date of around 95 CE (prior to the death of the emperor Domitian on 18 September 96 CE) is generally assumed. This gives a *terminus ante quem* for VF's death, complemented by a *terminus post quem*, since the last conclusively datable reference in the poem is to the eruption of Vesuvius in 79 CE (4.507–9).¹

Further details about VF's life have to be inferred from the epic (his only known work) and its transmission.² The manuscripts of the *Argonautica* give the poet's name as Gaius Valerius Flaccus; sometimes Setinus Balbus or Balbus Setinus is added, but the status of these additional items is uncertain. The epic's proem mentions a 'a tripod sharing in the knowledge of the Cumaean prophetess' in the poet's home (1.5–6): this remark, along with the poem's interest in religious rituals (3.362–458, 8.239–42), has led to the assumption that VF was a *quindecimvir sacris faciundis*, one of the priests in charge of the Sibylline books. However, the details given should not be taken too literally, and the persona adopted by the poet should not be confused with his biography: this presentation could have been chosen to highlight inspiration by Apollo.³

From the notice in Quintilian and allusions to the emperors Vespasian, Titus and Domitian in the proem (1.5–21) it is clear that VF was active during the Flavian period (see Intro. 2.2). The Flavian age presents the unique situation within classical Roman literature that epics by three poets published in that time survive: VF's *Argonautica*, Statius' *Thebaid* and *Achilleid*, Silius Italicus' *Punica*. VF's poem is thought to be the earliest, and no clear references to the other Flavian epics have been found in the text. On the other hand, Statius has many allusions to the Argonautic myth and to VF's language and motifs, most notably the engagement with VF's

¹ For literature on VF see Works cited; for works on book 3 see 1–461, 481–740nn. On the change in attitude towards Flavian epic over the last few decades see Delz 1995.

² See e.g. Ehlers 1991: 17–18, Zissos 2008: xiii–xvii.

³ For doubts on a literal interpretation see Wagner 1805: 7, Newman 1986: 221 n. 70, Barchiesi 2001b: 326–7.

Lemnos episode in *Thebaid* 5. Silius Italicus, besides reflections of VF's language, refers to the Cyzicus episode (Sil. 12.398–400; see 160n.) and has a divine prophecy on the Flavian emperors taking up motifs from VF's poem (Sil. 3.593–629).⁴

Contemporary writers seem to have known VF's work, or at least parts thereof, perhaps through recitations. If in an epigram in which he talks about the Argo (7.19) Martial makes a metaliterary statement, contrasting small-scale poetry such as this epigram with large-scale epic poetry, he may have VF in mind.⁵ Such a connection need not imply strong criticism of VF in particular; his work could be used as a foil to bring out characteristics of Martial's own work. It would, however, show that VF was seen as a paradigmatic representative of a specific type of poetry.⁶

2 THE POEM

2.1 *The myth and earlier literary versions*

The myth of the Argonauts is the story of Jason and his men ('the Argonauts') as they travel from Iolcos (in Thessaly) to Colchis to retrieve the Golden Fleece, which they manage with Medea's help.⁷ The ship Argo already appears in Homer as something well known (Hom. *Od.* 12.70 Ἀργὼ πᾶσι μέλουσα).⁸ Elements of the myth are mentioned in Hesiod (Hes. *Theog.* 992–1002, F 40, 155–7, 241, 263 M.-W.). A more detailed treatment was probably given in two archaic epics (only surviving in fragments), Eumelus' *Corinthiaca* (pp. 96–101 Davies = 108–12 Bernabé) and an anonymous *Naupactica* (pp. 145–9 Davies = 123–6 Bernabé); (likely) references can be found in archaic poets such as Mimnermus (F 11 West), Stesichorus (F 178–80 PMG = PMGF), Ibycus (F 291–2, 301 PMG = PMGF)

and Simonides (F 548 PMG = 270 Poltera). The earliest clearly attested presentation of the Argonautic story on its own is a piece by Epimenides in the sixth century BCE (F 57a–9 Bernabé). The first account to have survived in full is provided in Pindar's *Pythian Ode* 4 (462 BCE; *Pyth.* 4.70–262). The story became popular with dramatic poets of the fifth and fourth centuries; of these only Euripides' tragedy *Medea* (431 BCE), which describes the later stages of the story in Corinth, is extant. In the Hellenistic period several poets treat episodes from the Argonautic myth, in particular Theocritus (*Id.* 13: Hylas, *Id.* 22: Dioscuri). The entire Argonautic enterprise, from the start of the journey until the return to Colchis, is narrated in Apollonius Rhodius' (AR) epic *Argonautica* (third century BCE).

Besides, there were prose accounts, for instance in works by Pherecydes of Athens (fifth century BCE; *FGrH* / *BNJ* 3 F 26–32, 105–13), Herodorus (c. 400 BCE; *FGrH* / *BNJ* 31 F 38–55), Dionysius Scytobrachion (early third century BCE; *FGrH* / *BNJ* 32 F 6, 14) and Demaratus (*FGrH* / *BNJ* 42 F 2); information from various versions is preserved in Diodorus Siculus (first century BCE; *Diod. Sic.* 4.40–56), in the *Bibliothēke* transmitted under Apollodorus' name (c. first century CE) and in the scholia to AR.

In Rome early dramatic poets from the late third century BCE onwards took up the myth: three of them produced tragedies (preserved in fragments) on different sections (Ennius, *Medea (exul)*; Pacuvius, *Medus*; Accius, *Medea siue Argonautae*). In the late Republican period Varro Atacinus wrote an Argonautic epic (*Argonautae*), of which only fragments survive (F 1–10 *FPL*).⁹ This seems to have been the first complete poetic treatment in Rome and followed AR rather closely; a story of travelling to Colchis and exploring new countries might have been of interest in the late Republic at a time of developing Roman involvement in the east.⁹ The Neoteric poet Catullus refers to the Argonauts in the frame narrative of poem 64 (the so-called Peleus epyllion), the earliest presentation of the Argonautic story in a completely extant text in Latin. In the imperial period Ovid and Seneca (like other dramatists) composed *Medea* tragedies (of which only Seneca's survives); Ovid also presents *Medea* in other literary genres (*Ov. Her.* 6, 12, *Mel.* 7.1–424): those versions focus on the relationship between Jason and *Medea* in the story's later stages. The Flavian satirist Juvenal (*Juv.* 1.7–11) and the epigrammatist Martial (5.53) indicate that in their time the Argonautic myth was a popular and hackneyed topic (see also Intro. 2.6).

⁴ On the possible allusion to VF at Stat. *Theb.* 3.499–567 see Stover 2009. Smolenaars (1996; on VF and Statius see already Smolenaars 1991) discusses an example of Statius' (*Theb.* 7.632–9) and Silius Italicus' (7.667–79) building on a scene in VF (6.256–64). For linguistic parallels between VF and Silius Italicus see Ripoll 1999.

⁵ On the epigram's potential connection to VF see Zissos 2004a.

⁶ On the reception of VF see Zissos 2006a. Schenkl (1871: 35–8) noted that, apart from Statius and Silius Italicus, only Claudian and Claudius Marius Victor show knowledge of VF and there are no obvious references in later poets, commentators or grammarians.

⁷ On the development of the myth of Jason and *Medea* see e.g. Moreau 1994; on *Medea* see also Clauss and Johnston 1997; on *Medea* in Roman literature see Boyle 2012; on the Argonautic myth see Dräger 1993, 1996; on versions of the Argonautic myth before AR see Dognini 2003.

⁸ In both Greek and Roman literature the Argo is often presented as the 'first ship', even if other ships are mentioned in the same story or ships exist in myths set at earlier points in time (see Bär 2012, with further references).

⁹ Thus Braund 1993. On VF and Varro see Feletti 1998.

2.2 *Date of composition and length*

Apart from the vague indication of the time of VF's death (see Intro. 1) there is no external evidence for the poem's date of composition. It can only be narrowed down by inferences from references in the text to contemporary Roman affairs. Since elements such as the proem or similes are detachable from the main narrative and nothing is known about the order of composition, these details may provide indications of a *terminus post quem* for individual passages, but cannot determine a precise date for the period over which the entire poem was written.

That the proem (1.5–21) alludes to the Flavian emperors (without naming them) Vespasian (69–79 CE), Titus (79–81 CE) and Domitian (81–96 CE) confirms the dating to the Flavian period indicated by Quintilian.¹⁰ The question of whether the emperor under whom the proem was written may be identified has found different answers.¹¹ VF mentions Vespasian's involvement in expeditions to Britain in the forties CE (1.7–9; cf. Sil. 3.598) and the conquest of Jerusalem by his son Titus in 70 CE (1.12–14; cf. Sil. 3.600, 605–6), which give a *terminus post quem* for the proem. When VF goes on to talk about the future deification of Vespasian (d. 24 June 79 CE), he seems to be writing under this emperor, with the expectation that Vespasian will be honoured after his death and the dynasty will continue. If the hyperbolic mention of the founding of temples (1.15–16) has a more specific point of reference, it might be an allusion to the *Templum gentis Flaviae* (Suet. *Dom.* 5, 17.3, *Stat. Silv.* 4.3, 18–19, 5.1.240–1): its construction was started by Domitian after he came to power, though it was planned earlier; the date of completion (between c. 89 and 96 CE) is unknown.¹² Of the two similes referring to mount Vesuvius in southern Italy (3.208–11, 4.507–9), the first seems to allude to an earthquake in 62/63 CE or the volcano's regular activity (see 208–9n.), while the second is generally taken to evoke the eruption in 79 CE.

¹⁰ References to the Flavian emperors do not imply particular connections between epic characters and the emperors: Taylor (1994) argues that VF intends to create a symbolic connection between the voyage of the Argo and the regime of Vespasian and a typological connection between the mythological characters and certain historical and contemporary figures (*contra* Ehlers 1998: 155 and n. 21). Toohey (1993) interprets Jason not as the prototype of a specific emperor, but as a generic imperial prototype. In Shey's (1968: 264–87) view the poem indicates that Vespasian, like Jason, will succeed eventually, but there will be hard work along the way.

¹¹ The meaning of the proem as well as the date of this passage and the poem as a whole have been much debated: for a variety of views and arguments see e.g. Syme 1929, Scott 1934, Getty 1936, 1940, Ussani 1955, Smallwood 1962, Brugnoli 1964, Cambier 1969, Lefèvre 1971, Ehlers 1985: 334–9, 1991: 19–22, 1998: 147–8, Davis 1989, Toohey 1993, López Moreda 1996: 23–7, Río Torres-Murciano 2005, Stover 2008, 2012b: 7–26, 62–76, Zissos 2008: *ad loc.*, Galli 2013, Penwill 2013.

¹² The setting *ante eventum* for Vespasian's apotheosis has also been interpreted as a ploy, implying a later dating: the poet writes under Vespasian's successors, but talks about Vespasian as if he were still alive (see e.g. Liberman 1997: xviii–xxiv, with further references).

Further allusions to conditions in contemporary Rome have been identified,¹³ but they are too vague to narrow down the date of composition. For instance, beyond the use of Roman terminology and references to Roman institutions, especially in similes, there are veiled comments on the future of Rome (1.558–60, 2.571–3). The ubiquity of tyrants (esp. Pelias, Aeetes, Laomedon), critical remarks on rulers (c.g. 4.158), the presentation of aristocratic reactions to tyrants, the role of politically motivated suicide and the presence of civil war are often seen as implicit comments on Rome in the second half of the first century CE. That the Argonautic voyage is an aristocratic enterprise of a group ordered about by tyrants rather than a heroic exploit by individuals could also be a reflection of social and political circumstances.¹⁴

The consensus now is that the poem was probably started at some point in the seventies CE. Some think that it was mostly finished by 79 CE (with the poet's death occurring soon afterwards),¹⁵ while others suggest that composition continued into the early nineties CE, based on the interpretation of Quintilian's notice, the reading of the proem and references to the Sarmatians in book 6 (6.231–8).¹⁶ Allusions to the *Argonautica* in roughly contemporary epic poets (see Intro. 1) suggest that at least parts of the work were known before the nineties CE, but individual books might have been recited or circulated separately prior to completion and publication of the entire poem. Overall, the earlier dating appears more likely.

While VF's Greek model for the plot, AR's Hellenistic epic *Argonautica*, consists of four extremely long books, VF spreads the story over eight shorter books (of the ordinary length of a Roman epic book). His narrative stops at line 467 of book 8 in the middle of a speech. Since this can hardly be the intended ending, it raises the questions of how much is missing and of whether the poem is unfinished or the remainder has been lost in transmission.

¹³ See e.g. Boyle in Boyle and Sullivan 1991: 274, Zissos 2003, 2005: 511–13, 2009: 351–2, Mahé-Simon 2011 (with further references). Serpa's (1979) reading, namely that VF's epic was written by an unimportant person at court, for a homogenous, fairly educated class and for easy consumption, hence spreading unproblematic ideologies, does not seem to take the epic's complex texture into account.

¹⁴ On civil war, tyranny and suicide see McGuire 1997; on the depiction of power relations see Zissos 2003, 2009. Stover (2012b) sees the poem reflecting the restorative ideals of Vespasianic Rome, in contrast to the more pessimistic readings of many other scholars.

¹⁵ For a dating to 71–79 CE see e.g. Ehlers 1985: 334–9, 1991: 19–22, 1998: 147–8 (more cautiously), Stover 2008, 2012b.

¹⁶ For a late dating (c. 78–95 CE) see e.g. Syme 1929, mainly on the basis of references to the Sarmatians, which has been shown not to be a decisive point (e.g. Strand 1972: 23–5).

As for the intended length, there is now a broad consensus that the epic was meant to consist of eight books, double the number of books in AR, while keeping almost the same number of verses. Since the return journey narrated in book 8 is described in a more concise way than in AR, the remainder of the journey, the return home and the Argo's catastrophe (as suggested in the proem) could be fitted into the 300 lines or so that would be missing. That the poem was to consist of eight books (rather than ten or twelve, as some scholars have suggested) is indicated not only by the narrative scope, but also by the 'proem in the middle' at the beginning of book 5, which divides the poem into two halves.¹⁷

The question of whether the poem was ever finished is more difficult to answer.¹⁸ It has been assumed that, if the poet was unable to complete the epic, he would not have had the chance to revise the entire poem, noticeable by doublings, contradictions or unpolished lines. Scholars have identified possible instances:¹⁹ examples in book 3 include the introduction of narrative threads not taken up (3.483–508), references to oracles and predictions not mentioned before (3.299–303, 352–6, 617–22) or a version of the story not matching an earlier prophecy (3.521–64 versus 1.218–20). However, other, literary reasons may be adduced to explain these narrative structures, for instance the aim to mention details where they have the greatest effect or to highlight the version chosen by alluding to other variants initially (see 299–302, 332–61, 521–64, 618nn.). Moreover, it seems methodologically problematic to infer from a possible lack of final polishing in parts that the entire poem was never completed (details about the composition process of Virgil's *Aeneid* in the biographical tradition show that these two stages do not have to go together).²⁰

¹⁷ On the length of the poem and the 'second proem' see esp. Schetter 1959, Adamietz 1976a: 107–13, Ehlers 1971/2: 109, 1998: 148–9. But see Hershkovitz 1998a: 4–13, who again considers twelve books as a possibility (see already Schenkl 1871: 10–11) on the basis of intertextual connections, and Soubiran 2002: 32–3, who again suggests ten books in view of the 'coefficient de dilatation' in relation to AR. Because there is a marked break in what is likely to be the middle of the poem, while the actual end is missing, the sections at the end of book 4 and the beginning of book 5 have been called 'terminal middle' (Zissos 2004b).

¹⁸ For an overview of this question see Zissos 2008: xxvi–xxvii, who reports and agrees with the majority opinion that the work was unfinished (see already Schenkl 1871: 11–35); but see Jachmann 1935: 239–40, Ehlers 1971/2: 107, 1980: v, 1998: 149, Delz 1995: 154, who argue for a mechanical loss.

¹⁹ See most recently Poortvliet 1991b, and the bibliography at Zissos 2008: xxvii n. 82. Jachmann (1935: 228–40) explains the doublings as the work of a later interpolator.

²⁰ On the basis of his study of VF's metrical conventions, Kösters (1893: 96) concludes that book 2 is the most sophisticated metrically and that with respect to metrical polish the order of books appears as follows: 2, 6, 5, 3, 1, 4, 7, 8. Even though one may question details, these observations could suggest that there was

Looking beyond the poem's internal shape, scholars have observed that Statius frequently alludes to the Argonautic myth, but never to the return voyage, the portion missing in VF;²¹ if Statius' references are intertextual links, this could mean that Statius did not have access to the final section of VF's narrative. Yet this issue is linked to the question of dating and the method of dissemination.

The two branches of the transmission assumed nowadays (see Intro. 4) break off at different points. For *C* (and 8, a fragment presumably of *C*) a mechanical loss is obvious (stopping at 8.105), since γ shows that more text exists. However, it is impossible to establish whether earlier stages of the branch represented by *C* also continued until 8.467 or included more text. For the manuscript from which *L* (based on γ) was copied it is clear that (at least when it was copied) it did not include more text, since the extant copy (*L*) has blank pages at the end.²²

Since many arguments are not decisive, it is hard to determine conclusively whether the epic's text existed in full at some point (at whichever level of polishing) and whether a final revision is lacking throughout. If the final section of the epic ever existed, it was lost at an early stage and left no trace in the transmission or later literature.²³

2.3 Contents and structure

VF's (eight-book) epic can be divided into two halves, each introduced by a proem (1.1–21, 5.217–23). VF keeps the main structure and the key elements of the Argonautic myth, presented in broadly chronological order, but leaves out episodes and parts of episodes²⁴ and adds others, particularly the battle in Colchis narrated in book 6. The itinerary and the time spent on each section of the journey are not always clear, since VF focuses on the Argonauts' feelings and experiences and foregrounds the impact of their enterprise.²⁵

not a linear composition process. However, the use of elisions appears to become progressively less careful throughout the epic (see Kösters 1893: 48).

²¹ See Summers 1894: 4–5. ²² See Schmidt 1976: esp. 249.

²³ Schmit-Neuerburg (2001) suggests that a grammarian may have attempted to complete VF's unfinished poem (from 8.458 onwards), because of the style of the last few lines and their contradiction to earlier passages, and that he may also have written other spurious lines of probably ancient origin in the extant epic.

²⁴ E.g. the selection of a leader for the expedition (AR 1.329–62), the battle with the earth-born men (AR 1.942–52, 989–1011), the appearance of Apollo on the island of Thynias (AR 2.669–719), the confrontation with the Stymphalian birds (AR 2.1030–89) or the encounter with the sons of Phrixus on the island of Ares (AR 2.1093–230).

²⁵ For an attempt to identify the stages of the journey with inferred times see Liberman 1997: IJ–LVIII; for a comparative table of the itineraries in AR and VF see Shreeves 1978: 17–24.

By giving the Argonautic journey a world-historical function (1.531–60; see Intro. 2.4), he turns the myth into a story about the opening of the seas and its worldwide consequences. Both this leading idea and backward and forward references and connections between episodes endow VF's poem with a tightly knit narrative structure.

The poem's first half describes the journey from Iolcos to Colchis, punctuated by 'episodes', i.e. the Argonauts' adventures at various stops. Usually, there is a narrative pause at the end of a book. However, as in the case of the 'postponed' second proem, the most marked breaks do not coincide with beginnings and ends of books but are placed slightly earlier or later, ensuring a consistent flow of the narrative. For instance, the narrative of the events in Cyzicus begins at the end of book 2 and continues until the middle of book 3 (2.627–3.461), while the story of Hylas starts in the middle of book 3 and ends after the beginning of book 4 (3.481–4.81). At the same time book divisions mark differences in setting and atmosphere: book 2 ends with the harmonious dinner at the Argonauts' first stay on Cyzicus; book 3 begins with their departure followed by their disastrous return; book 3 ends with Hercules' desperation in Mysia; book 4 opens with Hylas' dream appearance and a divine scene resolving the situation.²⁶

The second half of the poem has a different structure since the events described take place in Colchis, followed by the concisely sketched return journey.²⁷ Here each book focuses on different sections of the action: the remainder of book 5 after the Argonauts' arrival gives the background to the situation in Colchis; book 6 shows the Argonauts' involvement in the battle between king Aectes and his brother and the kindling of Medea's love; book 7 is concerned with Jason's fight against the fire-breathing bulls and earth-born men and, correspondingly, Medea's support; book 8 narrates the capture of the Golden Fleece and the start of the Argonauts' return journey with Medea and the Golden Fleece, while they are pursued by the Colchians. The books are again linked, since the opening of each presents the emotional reaction of a character (Mars in book 6 and Medea in books 7 and 8) to events in the preceding one.

The main narrative, arranged in chronological order, is supplemented by a number of flashbacks; these explain the prehistory to situations the Argonauts encounter, through information provided by the narrator or stories told by characters or a combination of the two (e.g. Lemnos,

²⁶ Lühje 1971 finds a unity of individual books based on their atmosphere, while Adamietz 1976b maintains that the journey to Colchis is presented as a continuum. Both characteristics apply.

²⁷ On the poem's narrative structure in its two halves and its relationship to the epic tradition see Cecchin 1980.

Cyzicus, Bebrycia). The background to the Argonautic voyage is given by insertions into the main plot (Pelias' initial speech, Orpheus' song, Helle's apparition with the subsequent visit to Phrixus' tomb, Phrixus' dream appearance).²⁸ The close links between the insets and the main narrative contribute to the poem's thematic economy.²⁹ Additionally, prophecies by seers, comments by the narrator and descriptions of works of art foreshadow the future of the characters within the epic narrative and beyond.

2.4 Unity and themes

In the proem's first section (1.1–4) VF describes the epic's topic as the seas traversed by sons of gods for the first time and the fate-delivering ship surpassing all obstacles to reach the river Phasis (in Colchis) and eventually to find a place in the sky. The prominent initial word *prima* (1.1) announces an event of world-historical significance; in the tradition of Roman poetry (e.g. Cat. 64.1–18, Lucr. 1.1000–5, Hor. *Carm.* 1.3, Sen. *Med.* 301–79) the first voyage across the open sea marks a pivotal moment, and in VF it is a movement away from the Saturnian age (1.498–502).³⁰ Neither the Golden Fleece (as in AR) nor Jason (or Medea) is mentioned in the proem. Thus the introduction does not focus on a specific motif or a single individual as in the Homeric epics or Virgil's *Aeneid*. This is one of the reasons why some scholars have thought that the poem lacks unity and falls into two disjointed parts, the journey and the confrontation in Colchis.³¹

Yet it can be shown that the concept of opening the seas by the first voyage from Greece to Asia is a governing idea for the entire poem.³² The poem's guiding principle is not only given in the proem; it is expanded

²⁸ On the story of Phrixus and Helle see Zissos 2004c.

²⁹ In AR, for instance, Orpheus' song before departure narrates the creation of the world (AR 1.494–512).

³⁰ See e.g. Davis 1989, Feeney 1991: 330, Zissos 2005: 504.

³¹ Mehmél (1934) in particular observed that the world of the epic did not make sense and there were no unifying themes (taken up by Kurfess 1955; modified by Franchet d'Espèrey 1998). Barnes (1981: 370) still thinks that 'the main theme of the poem, if it is to be defined, must be defined in rather general terms'. According to Spaltenstein (1991, 1998, commentary *passim*) VF's epic is an assemblage of conventional scenes, influenced by the epic tradition, and the poet's power of invention and imagination is weak. Spaltenstein does not see any unity or governing idea, with VF not being an original thinker. In response to the view initiated by Mehmél, several scholars have pointed out the poem's careful narrative and thematic structure (e.g. Kröner 1968, Venini 1971b, Adamietz 1976a). Newman (1986: 220–6) sees the poem's unity in recurrent language and images.

³² See also Ferenczi 1996: 44; contrast Lefèvre 1998: 230–2. Zissos (2005: 511, 2008: xxxi) comments that 'The "proem in the middle" inaugurates a profound transformation of the narrative.'

upon in Jupiter's address to the other gods in book 1 (1.531–60),³³ a section added to the story by VF, on the model of Virgil's Jupiter in *Aeneid* 1 (1.257–96). The speech of VF's Jupiter, often called 'plan of the world', demonstrates that making the seas navigable will enable contact between peoples previously separated, followed by military confrontations and changes of hegemony, first from Asia to Greece and then to another nation.³⁴ Hence the events in Colchis, with the resulting enmity, are the necessary second step in the process determined by Jupiter: this clash will eventually, though not immediately, lead to a change of power (8.395–9). That such an outlook may seem negative, especially when compared with the expectation voiced by Jason, namely that open sea routes will lead to interaction (*commercia*) between peoples (1.245–7),³⁵ does not imply a lack of purpose.

Thereby the mythical narrative acquires a historical dimension within a global development, addressing questions of hegemony in the world.³⁶ At the same time historical references are vague: for instance, the nation taking over from the Greeks is not identified, although these must be the Romans (cf. 2.571–3, also 2.242–6). Moreover, Jupiter announces that the last empire will have *longissima* ... *regna* (1.559–60) rather than promising a (Virgilian) everlasting rule.

The openness is even greater with respect to specific historical events and individuals: the Argonautic myth, in combination with the address to the emperor in the proem (1.7–9), may suggest a link to expeditions to Britain under Claudius in the forties CE, in which Vespasian participated.³⁷ The ancient sources vary as regards the extent of Vespasian's contribution: in official near-contemporary propaganda Claudius claims to have opened

³³ Franchet d'Espèrey (1998: 219–20) finds that the addition of a supernatural background to the primary cause of sending the Argonauts across the sea to gain the Golden Fleece compromises the epic's coherence.

³⁴ On 'Jupiter's plan of the world' see e.g. Alfonsi 1970: 125–31, Adamietz 1976a: 21–4, Schubert 1984: 31–44, Wacht 1991a, Río Torres-Murciano 2010, 2011: 193–241, Stover 2012b: 27–50. Some scholars have found that the ideas expressed in Jupiter's speech are not taken up (e.g. Burck 1979: 232, Billerbeck 1986a: 3130); still, they provide the background to the entire narrative. Tschiedel (2002: 109) finds another reference at 5.308; but this is more likely a general statement about divine power.

³⁵ This is Jason's view (see Ferenczi 1996: 45) rather than an insight into actual divine plans (see Adamietz 1976b: 460). According to Ehlers (1998: 151, 156) the result of the enterprise is positive, even if it is not positive for each individual.

³⁶ See Burck 1971: 94–5; Zissos 2005: 504.

³⁷ Cf. Sil. 1.597–8, Suet. *Claud.* 17, *Vesp.* 4.1–2, Tac. *Agr.* 13.3, Joseph. *BJ* 3.4–5, Cass. Dio 60.20.3. If there is a historical reference, it is more likely to this major event rather than to arrangements for the administration of Britannia by officials in 70–71 CE (Tac. *Agr.* 8.1–2, 17.1), particularly in view of Silius Italicus' allusion (1.597–8 *hinc pater ignotam donabit vincere Thylen | inque Caledonios primus trahet agmina lucos*).

the seas;³⁸ later sources highlight Vespasian's role, which earned him *triumphalia ornamenta* (Suet. *Vesp.* 4.2). However, while the proem foreshadows the Argo's catastrophe and talks of Vespasian's shining down from the sky as a star, which is often seen as parallel,³⁹ an explicit connection is not made, nor between the historical and the mythical sea voyages. Still, the theme of opening up routes to distant countries and the description of foreign peoples may have been influenced by recent Roman attempts at expansion and exploration of unfamiliar areas,⁴⁰ and travelling throughout the empire had become an element of public and private life by the Flavian period.⁴¹

Although Jupiter's speech in the first book is not continued by similar programmatic utterances, its underlying ideas are alluded to throughout: for example, the passage through the Symplegades, which is the most challenging part of the journey and enables the Argonauts to enter an entirely new world, is described in detail (4.637–710) and frequently mentioned before and afterwards.⁴² More importantly, the transition from Europe to Asia is sketched in a drawn-out process, since the Argonauts' crossing the border between the two continents is referred to several times (2.613–20, 4.211–13, 4.727–8). Not only do the events in Colchis show a first clash as a result of the path between Europe and Asia now opened, but the narrative also looks forward to a subsequent major confrontation between Europe and Asia with further consequences (8.395–9).

A similar assessment of the Argonautic enterprise emerges from Statius' *Achilleid*: in view of the Trojan War, Achilles' mother Thetis complains about the uses for which Neptune has opened the seas and points out that the 'judge from Ida' (i.e. Paris) travels over the sea, carrying 'stealthily another crime and spoils of hospitality' (i.e. Helen, after Medea), causing sorrow (Stat. *Ach.* 1.61–9). That the seas will be opened for war and the Argonautic voyage will be followed by hardship caused by the herdsman from Ida (i.e. Paris) is what VF's Jupiter predicts (1.546–54). Statius'

³⁸ See *CIL* 6.920, 13.1668, [Sen.] *Oct.* 25–30, *Anth. Lat.* 417–24 Shackleton Bailey.

³⁹ See e.g. Ehlers 1971/2: 110, 1998: 155. Wacht (1991a: 21, 30, 33) regards the parallel as a justification for Vespasian's achievements, which marks the endpoint of a development inaugurated by the Argonautic voyage. Stover (2012b: esp. 62–76) sees in the parallelism a celebration of Vespasian's achievements despite difficulties and considers him thus as on a par with the Argonauts.

⁴⁰ See e.g. Burck 1971: 28, 1979: 233.

⁴¹ VF typically substitutes Roman geographical conceptions and categories for the Greek references in AR. On VF's use of geography see Shreeves 1978, Manuwald 2013 (with further references).

⁴² Cf. 1.3–4, 1.59–60, 1.630, 2.381–2, 4.221, 4.561–88, 5.84–5, 5.167, 5.299, 5.482, 7.41–2, 8.180–96.

Neptune explains to Thetis that Jupiter has ordained a war and a confrontation between Europe and Asia (*Stat. Ach.* 1.81–3). The narrator confirms that universal war is engulfing Europe and Asia and that this is what the interaction (*commercia*) between the two continents looks like (*Stat. Ach.* 1.397–404).

In VF's epic, apart from prospects for the future, the first sea voyage has short-term positive effects, which are fated: the Argonauts (as a group or individually) accomplish the removal of monsters and put an end to suffering (e.g. they end the lack of males on Lemnos, rescue Hesione, remove Amycus, liberate Phineus from the Harpies, free Prometheus). Some scholars have therefore seen the first voyage across the open sea as civilizing, in that it brings progress and humanity to 'barbarian' peoples.⁴³ This is surely one effect; however, the move to a new age by the introduction of seafaring will also create new dangers, as the Parcae realize with glee (1.501–2). In combination with the facilitation of wars, the results of the Argonautic journey are ambiguous.

2.5 Gods, fate and humans

VF re-introduces the divine apparatus of anthropomorphic gods in the Homeric-Virgilian tradition (which Lucan had abandoned)⁴⁴ and expands its role beyond that in AR.⁴⁵ In addition, VF refers to the concept of a predetermined sequence, influenced by Stoic philosophy.

As the divine councils demonstrate (1.498–560, 5.618–95), there are parties of gods in VF, as in Homer and Virgil: Juno and Pallas (Minerva) support the Argonautic journey (1.79–99, 5.29–30); Sol and Mars oppose it because of the threat to Aeetes, a son of Sol, and the Golden Fleece, kept in the grove of Mars (1.503–29); Neptune is initially against it because of the invasion into his realm but then is made to accept it by Juno and Pallas (1.211–17, 6.41–52). Besides, Juno continues to fight her arch-enemy Hercules: her interventions for that reason create setbacks for the Argonauts and temporary tensions with Jupiter (as in Virgil's *Aeneid*).

⁴³ See e.g. Shelton 1984, who observes (23) that 'Jupiter in this poem stands for the values of humanity and civilization'; Tschiedel 2003: 31–3, who thinks that VF expresses an enduring hope for the final victory of justice and humanity; for a more nuanced discussion of VF's 'aporetic approach' to 'primitivism' and 'progressivism' see Zissos 2006b.

⁴⁴ On the use of gods in epic cf. also Petron. *Sat.* 118–24.

⁴⁵ On the gods in VF see e.g. Ferner 1937, Wagner 1939: 128–37, Schönberger 1965, Schubert 1984 (on Jupiter), 1991 (on Juno), Steinkühler 1989: 290–407, Feeney 1991: 314–37, Ferenczi 1995, 1996, Schenk 1998 (on Pallas), Delarue 2004 (on Juno), Zissos 2005: 504–5, Elm von der Osten 2007 (on Venus), Baier 2012.

The supreme god Jupiter towers above the other gods: he announces the framework for the development of world history (1.531–60), he does not allow other gods to contradict fixed developments, and he prevents their interventions having excessive consequences. Hence these 'minor' gods may carry out their own plans (as Cybele and Juno do);⁴⁶ eventually, however, they will not influence the predetermined course.⁴⁷

While the dominant position of Jupiter may have been adopted from Virgil's *Aeneid*, the outlook of VF's epic is gloomier: when the narrator asks at the beginning of the battle between former hosts and guests on Cyzicus why Jupiter allowed this to happen (3.14–18), the problem of theodicy and divine justice is voiced.⁴⁸ The poet has Jupiter intervene only when the battle has achieved its purpose with the death of king Cyzicus (3.249–50), but by then many innocent men have died; to bring hardship to the entire town is the intention of the goddess Cybele (3.29–31), which Jupiter does not prevent at an earlier stage. Jupiter only moderates events so as to ensure that large-scale goals are realized (see also 4.1–14, 5.280–95, 6.72–89). Beyond that, other gods may pursue their own aims and influence humans, even causing harm to them.⁴⁹ The characters in the epic remain unaware of Jupiter's plan and thus do not know that their actions are part of an overall framework.⁵⁰

Even though the presentation of the divine realm is unproblematic on the narrative level, scholars have raised the question of whether VF's anthropomorphic gods can be understood literally or should be seen as allegories for human emotions.⁵¹ At least within the framework of the story anthropomorphic gods and fate representing a predetermined sequence are seen as influential entities. Since divine and human will are sometimes in opposition, humans can only be prompted to certain actions by means of successive, increasingly forceful divine intervention (2.115–241, 3.32–73, 6.429–506, 7.153–406), while they may have moral or ethical concerns about carrying out these deeds (3.259–63, 290–308,

⁴⁶ See e.g. Burck 1979: 235.

⁴⁷ Contrast Lefèvre 2012, who argues that there is no divine guidance of events in VF.

⁴⁸ See also Schönberger 1965: 130.

⁴⁹ See also Bernstein 2008: 54. Feeney (1991: 335–6) sees a predominantly 'caring and sustaining relation between men and gods'.

⁵⁰ Most oracles and prophecies addressed to humans refer to details rather than the main ideas expressed in Jupiter's plan of the world (1.531–60). What comes closest is a prediction of future wars between Europe and Asia (8.395–9): these lines partly render thoughts of the Argonauts and partly prophecies of the seer Mopsus; the section reporting Mopsus' prophecy is in characteristically vague language.

⁵¹ For the second interpretation see e.g. Ferner 1937 *passim*, Eigler 1988: 113, 132, 1991: 155–72, Gärtner 1994: 269–71, 1996, 295–6; more nuanced positions in Schenk 1991: esp. 146–7, 1998, 235–9, Delarue 2004: 91.

362–8, 7.309–12, 323–4). Often they are suddenly confronted with unexpected situations engineered by gods or with divine interventions. This makes it likely that these gods are not to be regarded only as personifications of the humans' own wishes.

Such an interpretation does not imply that the gods, Jupiter in particular, are to be read as specific individuals throughout; they may also represent a supernatural, external entity whose impact on their lives people sense. Both the narrator and the characters assume that supernatural forces predetermine events. This external entity is also denoted by unspecific terms such as 'god(s)' and 'fate(s)' (e.g. 2.322–3, 446, 4.432, 483–4, 704–5), although the relationship between 'fate' and divine beings is not always clear and may vary. Since 'fate' has been arranged by Jupiter (1.531–5; see also 3.249–50) and can be inflicted by him (5.308), it denotes a fixed course based on Jupiter's arrangements.

The epic can therefore be read as a description of the perennial struggle of humans, subject to a predetermined order.⁵² When gods try to influence the behaviour of humans, they frequently exploit the current state of affairs, so that human predisposition and divine power work together.⁵³ While the eventual outcome is fixed, characters in the epic seem to have the freedom to make decisions (i.e. when discussing whether or not to wait for Hercules in Mysia in book 3), so that they believe that there is an element of their own responsibility; this may affect their conscience even if they decide to do what has been fated. Possibly VF thereby alludes to Stoic discussions about the relationship between determinism and free will.⁵⁴ Yet in his presentation the conflict appears complex: characters arguing for a course of action that is fated but morally problematic may still be punished (e.g. Meleager for his behaviour in Mysia; cf. 4.32–4).⁵⁵ Humans may also suffer from angry gods, although they did not intentionally commit a 'crime' against them (e.g. Cyzicus: 3.19–31; Phineus: 4.430–1, 477–82).

When gods make humans act against their own inclinations, the latter can be regarded as guilty of the deed and may feel guilty; equally, they may be seen as innocent because they do not act on purpose. This applies to the Argonauts on Cyzicus, as becomes clear from Mopsus' ritual and preceding speech (3.377–458), and later to Medea.⁵⁶ The difficulty that humans may be prompted to actions that they regard as problematic but which are

⁵² See e.g. Ferenczi 1995: 152–3, Ehlers 1998: 154, 156.

⁵³ See Schenk 1991, 1999 *passim*. ⁵⁴ On these see e.g. Sharples 1996: 50, 74–7.

⁵⁵ Gärtner (1994: 120) therefore believes that humans in VF carry responsibility for their actions even if they can refer to divine determination.

⁵⁶ Ripoll (2004) sees Medea as a 'tragic heroine', who is guilty and a victim at the same time (on this tension see also Eigler 1991; on Medea influenced by forces beyond her control see also Davis 2009).

required by fate is also addressed in Lucan's epic on the Roman civil war. There, however, the question of guilt is solved by the assumptions that one is obliged to follow fate and that supernatural powers are responsible (e.g. Luc. 2.86–8). In VF the characters are left to wrestle with their feelings of guilt since they have a sense of responsibility even for predetermined events.

VF's characters lack the reassurance conveyed in Virgil's *Aeneid*: when Aeneas experiences a crisis after the Trojan women have set fire to the ships on Juno's instigation, he ponders whether he should settle in Sicily, 'forgetful of fate' (Virg. *Aen.* 5.703 *oblitus fatorum*); in this situation Aeneas is comforted by the aged Nautes, who knows about gods and fates from Pallas (Virg. *Aen.* 5.709–10 *nate dea, quo fata trahunt retrahuntque sequamur; | quidquid erit, superanda omnis fortuna ferendo est*); an appearance of Aeneas' father Anchises confirms Nautes' proposals (Virg. *Aen.* 5.722–40). In contrast to the protagonists in VF, Aeneas is presented with a workable plan of action and assured that it is in line with the fates.

Characters in VF assume that there are gods knowing full details about the future, while humans suffer from ignorance. Therefore they try to find out more by seeking prophecies (especially during the Argonauts' visit to Phineus in book 4) but receive no or only partial information since Jupiter does not wish men to be fully informed (4.477–82, 623–4). Sometimes humans obtain glimpses of the future in oracles, prophecies and proleptic works of art, but these indications are often vague and therefore not fully understood. In Lucan's epic there is a different, Stoic conception: he has Cato state that oracles are not needed since Jupiter is present in everything and the certainty of death provides guidance (Luc. 9.544–86). The narrator confirms that advance knowledge of terrible events such as civil war only increases misery by removing hope (Luc. 2.1–15).

VF's narrative seems to be based on a different concept: the Argonauts, for instance, do not know that divine will made them fight against their former hosts at Cyzicus; therefore they are devastated and feel guilty (3.259–63, 362–8). Jason laments that oracles and prophecies have not forewarned him of such a terrible incident (3.299–303). On the other hand, an oracle telling Jason that Hercules will be left behind before the Symplegades is only mentioned when it is about to be realized; at this point Jason still hopes that it might not be true (3.617–22). Cyzicus too seems to have ignored prodigies foreboding evil, which the narrator acknowledges as a general human trend (3.352–6).

The divine apparatus in VF illustrates causal relations, as regards both world history and the situation of characters, for readers. In contrast to AR, VF provides those by inserting flashbacks, divine scenes or authorial

comments offering background.⁵⁷ Yet, even for readers the role of interventions of individual gods is not always clear from the start: in book 3, for example, it initially seems that the events in both episodes are triggered by the plans of goddesses for personal revenge (3.19–31, 487–8), but they subsequently turn out to be fated (3.352–6, 617–22, 717). The presentation of the devastating effects of divine interventions calls the gods' character into question (if judged from the standpoint of human ethics), but apart from complaints about insufficient information received from oracles or seers, there is no explicit criticism of gods. At any rate, figures in the epic suffer from divine revenge plans because no power opposes them so long as the fated development is not affected.⁵⁸

Such a concept of the human condition and of the role of fate (and gods) is likely to have been influenced by contemporary Stoicism.⁵⁹ The notion that humans and gods are subject to fate recalls Seneca's *De providentia* (Sen. *Dial.* 1.5.8–9). The determining force of fate is reminiscent of the famous concept *ducunt fata uolentem, nolentem trahunt* – 'the fates lead the willing and drag along the unwilling' (Sen. *Epist.* 107.11). However, in contrast to what some figures in Lucan do or the historical Seneca suggests, the characters in VF do not embrace fated developments happily: whenever predetermination is mentioned, it refers to situations bringing toil to humans, even if there is an eventual positive outcome.

2.6 *The literary tradition: intertexts*

VF's poem is composed against the background of a long epic tradition in both Greece and Rome: his text uses standard epic forms, such as battle scenes, sacrifices or divine scenes, and it points to its literary position by imitative and contrastive references to preceding epics. Such allusions caused earlier generations of scholars to accuse VF (like his contemporaries) of 'slavish imitation' and secondary belatedness⁶⁰ but are now recognized as deliberate moves, whereby the poet defines his own position

⁵⁷ See e.g. Zissos 2005: 505. ⁵⁸ See also Burck 1970, 1981: 556–7.

⁵⁹ On Stoic elements in VF see Billerbeck 1986a: 3129–34, 1986b, Ferenczi 2014. Billerbeck (1986a: 3130) concludes that the concept of fate is not prominent in VF and indicates the obligatory Stoic colouring of his time. While it may be debated in what way the epic has been influenced by particular elements of Stoicism and how these have been combined with epic traditions, it is obvious that the idea of pre-ordained fate plays a significant role. On gods and fate in VF see Neri 1986: 1999–2006. The suicide of Jason's father Aeson in the face of tyrannical oppression (1.767–818) may be seen as Stoic (see e.g. Ripoll 2003: 667–8; see 377–416n.).

⁶⁰ See, in the wake of Wilamowitz's famous dictum, e.g. Kurfess 1955: 14, Hudson-Williams 1959: 64, 1973: 23, Courtney 1965: 151–2.

and enhances the poem's meaning and literary texture.⁶¹ The most important earlier poets are Homer, the first and foremost epic writer in the ancient world, AR, who treated the same subject matter in epic form, and Virgil, who became the Roman epic poet par excellence for classical Latin writers; besides, there are significant allusions to the epics of Ovid and Lucan as well as to the tragedies of Seneca and to the love poetry of Catullus, Tibullus, Propertius and Ovid.⁶² VF may engage in multi-level allusions or use multiple intertexts, referring to several predecessors in one line or scene ('combinatorial imitation').⁶³ Connections can be both direct and indirect; for some references to Homer, for instance, it is unclear whether there is direct interaction with Homer or whether his text has (also) been mediated by AR and/or Virgil.

The relationship to each of the predecessors is of a different nature. AR (who in turn responds to Homer) is the primary model for the plot although there are significant differences: VF omits and adds episodes or sections of episodes, gives the entire story a global relevance by introducing Jupiter's plan of the world (1.531–60) and leaves out geographical and aetiological information (see Intro. 2.3, 2.4). Where VF includes learned details, these tend to be brief and unobtrusive, often serving a larger thematic (or metaliterary) aim. VF is likely to have had access to the scholia on AR's poem (which, among other things, report historical and geographical details and summaries of prose versions of the myth), and he will have known Varro Atacinus' Latin epic from the Republican period (see Intro. 2.1).⁶⁴

Homer's and Virgil's narratives provide poetic prototypes for motifs and narrative style; these inform and enhance VF's re-elaboration of episodes from AR. Where VF departs further from AR, there is often a

⁶¹ On this issue among 'the epic successors of Virgil' see Hardie 1993a, Barchiesi 2001a.

⁶² On VF's relationship to predecessors see e.g. Manilius 1889, Grueneberg 1893, Buckley 2010, bibliography in Zissos 2008: xxxvi–xxxvii n. 139 and commentaries *passim*; more generally Hardie 1993a. On VF and Homer see also Garson 1969, Fuà 1988, Smolenaars 1991 (including consideration of Virgil and Statius; see n. 4 above), Zissos 2002; on VF and AR see also e.g. Harmand 1898, Adamietz 1970, Venini 1971a, Burck 1975, 1981, Traglia 1983, Tschiedel 2003; on VF and Virgil see also e.g. Greiff 1869, Schenkl 1871: 101–12 (with list of passages), Baehrens 1875: 174–80 (list of *loci Vergiliani*), Sruh 1905, Marbach 1920, Mozley 1963–4, Gossage 1969, Nordera 1969, Venini 1989, Korn 1991, Barnes 1995: 273–8, Mahé-Simon 2011, Ganiban 2014; on VF and Ovid see also Frank 1971, Burck 1976, 1981, von Albrecht 1977, 1999, Aricò 1998, Davis 2009, Heerink 2010 *passim*, Keith 2014; on VF and Lucan see also Zissos 2004d, Bartolomé 2009: 66–9, Stover 2012b, 2014.

⁶³ Murgatroyd (2008) analyses the Amycus episode in book 4 as an example of a scene for which VF looks to AR, Homer, Virgil and Ovid. Bettenworth (2003) shows for the same episode how VF uses Homer and Virgil to re-elaborate the scene in AR.

⁶⁴ For examples of the probable use of scholia see Bessone 1991, Scaffai 1997, Galli 2007b.

connection to Virgil's epic:⁶⁵ like the *Aeneid*, VF's *Argonautica* is divided into two halves, presenting a journey and battles respectively (in their turn 'Odyssean' and 'Iliadic' halves), has a postponed 'second proem', placed just after the start of a book at what is most likely the beginning of the second half (5.217–23, Virg. *Aen.* 7.37–45), and includes a number of divine scenes, such as a programmatic speech by Jupiter in book 1. In addition to such broader structural features, VF takes up phrases, motifs or characteristic scenes: for instance, at the beginning of both episodes in book 3 the thoughts of an angry goddess are presented (3.27–32, 509–20), alluding to the speeches of Juno outraged at the Trojans (Virg. *Aen.* 1.36–49, 7.292–322); in both cases disaster unfolds when a young man out hunting kills or tries to kill an animal with a special relationship to a goddess (3.19–26, 545–57), which is reminiscent of Ascanius' killing of a tame stag (Virg. *Aen.* 7.475–539).

Often Virgilian scene structures re-occur in different narrative contexts in VF; thereby the underlying Virgilian framework may give an additional dimension,⁶⁶ when, for instance, Juno's anger against Hercules (3.487–520) resembles her opposition to Aeneas, or enhance the presentation of the characters' emotional state or behaviour, when, for example, Jason and Clite mourning the dead Cyzicus (3.286–331) recall Aeneas and Euander mourning the dead Pallas. Passages showing a more sustained relationship to Virgil tend to refer to the more sombre sections of the *Aeneid* (in addition to allusions to Greek and Roman tragedy; see e.g. 353, 511–12nn.). VF often reuses Virgilian phrases in new contexts and may create unexpected collocations (e.g. 3.20 versus Virg. *Aen.* 8.596, 9.605; 3.22–3 versus Virg. *Aen.* 6.785, 7.487, 10.253). The recourse to Virgilian language and themes and their simultaneous modification in new contexts results in a blend of 'classical' and 'modern' (see Intro. 2.7).⁶⁷

Against a background of different forms of epic-style poetry and of the various ways in which the Argonautic myth has been treated, VF opts for the Homeric-Virgilian martial epic as the main format (Virg. *Ecl.* 6.3 *reges et proelia*); he even introduces additional battles. At the same time VF explores the boundaries of martial epic by inserting elements associated with other poetic genres. For instance, there are similarities to amatory poetry in language and motifs with respect to the relationships between Hercules and Hylas, Hylas and the nymph, or Jason and Medea (see 481–740n.).⁶⁸

⁶⁵ Shelton (1974) shows with regard to the storm scene how VF inserts an element not in AR but in Homer and Virgil and how this is integrated into major thematic strands such as the consequences of introducing seafaring.

⁶⁶ Questioned by Barnes 1995: 275.

⁶⁷ See Pederzani 1987, Zissos 2008: xxxvii.

⁶⁸ On generic tensions in book 3 see Feeney 1991: 324, more generally 320–8.

That VF writes on the back of a long tradition is indicated by frequent references to variants of the myth the poet has chosen not to follow.⁶⁹ For instance, he has the seer Mopsus hint at the standard version of the Hylas story, according to which Hylas disappears while fetching water (1.218–20), and then narrates the tale in a different manner (3.481–740), highlighting his own version (see 521–64n.). Equally, VF makes it clear that he deals with a section out of a mythical continuum and links the story to preceding and subsequent events, such as the labours of Hercules (e.g. 3.665–6), the adventures of Phrixus and Helle, or the Trojan War.⁷⁰

2.7 Language, style, metre

VF mainly writes in the established epic and, more particularly, Virgilian tradition. There are only a few neologisms (e.g. 3.28, 88, 208, 409/42, 448, 554); however, words may be employed in new senses (e.g. 3.79, 182) or novel combinations (e.g. 3.95–6, 122–3). Phrases adopted from earlier writers are inserted into different contexts and thus given a new significance (see Intro. 2.6).⁷¹

VF's text is regarded as mannered and difficult, even obscure or ambiguous in places, since language and narrative style are elliptical, condensed, allusive and metaphorical. On the level of syntax and semantics repetitions of words or formulae or insertions of prosaic or technical words are rare; picturesque or figurative terms, paraphrases, metonymical or metaphorical expressions, patronymics instead of actual names, personifications of inanimate objects, transferred epithets (*hypallage*), sometimes in rather bold uses, zeugma, *apo koinou* constructions, predicative adjectives with adverbial and/or anticipating sense, participles and historic infinitives with open reference points, variations of constructions and omission of grammatical elements not strictly necessary (e.g. forms of *esse*) are frequent. The word order is rather free and often intricate; ellipsis, hyperbaton and anastrophe of connectors, such as conjunctions, prepositions and particles, are common. The narrative, too, is often condensed: obvious yet less significant stages in the action are not mentioned. Vague connectors, such as *iam*, *inde*, *hinc* and *interea*, link scenes, thus creating a fast narrative pace.

⁶⁹ See Zissos 1999.

⁷⁰ On aspects of this narrative technique see e.g. Fuhrer 1998, Schmitz 2009.

⁷¹ On VF's language and style see Romeo 1907, Merone 1957, Contino 1973, Burck 1979: 246–7, Kleywegt 1986, Zissos 2008: xlv–lxi, Barich 2014 (with further references); on stylistic figures in VF see Gebbing 1878.

Sections describing a series of similar actions and incidents such as battle scenes are vivid because of changes of perspective, different ways of focalization and descriptions from unusual points of view. There is more emphasis on the psychology of characters and the impact of events than on factual details; hence the Argonauts' itinerary is less precise in VF than in AR. VF's epic includes a large amount of direct speech (more than in AR).⁷² Features such as the historic present and colour words serve to evoke precise visual images; indications of day or night convey an atmosphere rather than defining times precisely.⁷³ Book 3 contains a large number of similes, particularly in the battle narrative:⁷⁴ similes in VF tend to describe a character's emotions and experiences, and their spacing can punctuate the narrative, highlight situations or trace psychological developments (e.g. 3.581–97, 737–40). While the narrator is omniscient, narrates background stories and comments on events, he often adopts a point of view close to the level of the characters, asks questions about the reason for events or inserts apostrophes and sympathetic exclamations (e.g. 3.14–18, 35, 116, 177–81, 355–6, 480),⁷⁵ which also heightens the emotional impact.

VF's metre is the dactylic hexameter, the epic metre introduced to Rome by Ennius, consisting of six feet with quantitative dactylic (– – –) or spondaic (– –) rhythm.⁷⁶ In shaping this metre VF follows the conventions of Virgil or Ovid and sometimes Lucan. In VF dactyls are more frequent than spondees, including the avoidance of spondaic words in the first foot (see 103n.). Elision is used sparingly (and according to specific conventions): more than one elision in a single line does not occur frequently; the highest number of elisions per line is three (with only seven instances; see 472n.). Metrical breaks occur at the usual points, often in the second foot (*trithemimeres*), third foot (*penthemimeres*) or fourth foot (*hepthemimeres*), with *penthemimeres* and a combination of *trithemimeres* and *hepthemimeres* particularly common. Metrical licences (such as changes in syllable length) are rare; they are more likely to be admitted when earlier poets, especially Virgil, have sanctioned them (see e.g. 234, 587–9nn.). Lines containing more than one Greek name may have a less common metrical structure (e.g. 478).⁷⁷

⁷² See e.g. Garson 1964: 270, Burck 1979: 248; criticized by Mehmél 1934: 24. On the role and amount of direct speech in Flavian epic see Dominik 2002.

⁷³ See Gärtner 1998.

⁷⁴ See Fitch 1976: 120, 121 n. 19, Spaltenstein 2004: 31. On similes in VF see Fitch 1976, Lewis 1984, Gärtner 1994; for discussion see the contributions in *Aevum antiquum* 2, 2002, Pice 2003: 205–32, Zissos 2008: xlv–xlviii.

⁷⁵ See Effe 2004: 74–80.

⁷⁶ On VF's use of metre and prosody see Kösters 1893, Garson 1968, Contino 1973: 96–8, Zissos 2008: lxi–lxvi.

⁷⁷ See Garson 1968.

3 BOOK 3

3.1 Contents and structure

Book 3 comprises the main sections of two long episodes ('Cyzicus episode' and 'Hylas episode'), separated by a brief interlude ('rowing contest'). In line with VF's reducing the weight of pauses at the end of books (see Intro. 2.3), the Cyzicus episode starts at the end of book 2 and the Hylas episode continues into the beginning of book 4.

Transitions to neighbouring books are marked by shifts in plot and tone: in the Cyzicus episode the friendly first encounter between the Argonauts and their hosts on Cyzicus (2.627–64) is separated from the disaster unfolding at the unplanned second encounter, when the Argonauts are driven back to the shore at night and a battle ensues because the inhabitants believe them to be enemies.⁷⁸ A light-hearted interlude in the shape of a 'rowing contest', during which the Argonaut Hercules breaks his oar, motivates the Hylas episode: the Argonauts land in Mysia to give Hercules the chance to get a new oar. While in the wood, Hercules loses his young friend Hylas, and the Argonauts eventually leave without Hercules, who continues to search for Hylas. This situation is resolved by a dream appearance of Hylas and a divine scene at the beginning of book 4, where the grieving Hercules is given a new task (4.1–81).

After each of the main incidents in the book, the debilitating consequences are presented, and it is shown how a way is found for the protagonists to carry on. In this book the Argonauts do not accomplish deeds with a positive impact. Therefore scholars have felt that book 3 is one of those books that have a more sombre atmosphere and where the motif of suffering is paramount (see Intro. 2.3).⁷⁹

The structure of book 3 can be outlined as follows:⁸⁰

I. Cyzicus episode (1–461; continued from 2.627–64)

- A. Departure of the Argonauts after the first (friendly) encounter (1–13)
- B. Address to the Muse (14–18)
- C. Background to the current situation (19–31)

⁷⁸ In this case the two books are linked not just by the continuation of one complex of events, but also by a foreshadowing of the battle in tragic irony by means of an *ekphrasis* (2.659–62; on *ekphrasis* in VF see e.g. Frank 1974, Ravenna 1981, Schmitzer 1999, Baier 2004, Carderi 2008, Harrison 2013, Heerink 2014).

⁷⁹ See e.g. Lüthje 1971: 127, Murgatroyd on 4.1–81.

⁸⁰ Shey (1968: 84) combines the purification ritual and the 'rowing contest' (362–480) into a single 'very quiet, undramatic central section'. However, the purification ritual is closely connected with the battle by dealing with its consequences, while the 'rowing contest' shows the Argonauts moving on.

- D. Preparations for the battle (32–94)
 - 1. The helmsman Tiphys overwhelmed by sleep and return of the Argo (32–42)
 - 2. Arrival of the Argo, battle cry and Pan's intervention (43–57)
 - 3. Cyzicus' path into battle (58–73)
 - 4. Argonauts moving into battle (74–94)
 - E. Battle between the Argonauts and the people of Cyzicus (95–248)
 - 1. First skirmishes (95–112)
 - 2. Genysus and Medon rushing into battle (113–23)
 - 3. Hercules fighting with the bow versus Phlegyas (124–37)
 - 4. Nestor in the midst of other fighters (138–49)
 - 5. Jason (150–60)
 - 6. Hercules fighting with the club (161–72)
 - 7. Deaths of Ornytus and Crenaeus (173–81)
 - 8. Hylas (182–5)
 - 9. Castor and Pollux (186–97)
 - 10. Telamon (198–206)
 - 11. Intensification of the fighting (206–11)
 - 12. Address to the Muses (212–19)
 - 13. Cyzicus' death (220–42)
 - 14. Conclusion of the battle (243–8)
 - F. Jupiter's ending the fighting and the humans realizing the situation (249–72)
 - G. Lament and funerals (274–361)
 - 1. Sorrow, especially at Cyzicus' death (274–85)
 - 2. Jason's 'funeral speech' (286–313)
 - 3. 'Funeral speech' of Cyzicus' wife Clite (314–31)
 - 4. Funerary ceremonies (332–61)
 - H. Paralysis of the Argonauts and its resolution (362–458)
 - 1. Distress of the Argonauts and Jason's concern (362–76)
 - 2. The seer Mopsus' speech explaining the context (377–416)
 - 3. Purification and atonement ceremony (417–58)
 - J. Mopsus' instructions for departure (459–61)
- II. Interlude: 'rowing contest' on the open sea (462–80)
- III. Hylas episode (481–740; continued in 4.1–81)
- A. The Argonauts' landing in Mysia (481–6)
 - B. Juno's plans and emotions (487–520)
 - 1. Preparations: Juno's removal of Pallas (487–508)
 - 2. Juno's assessment of the situation (509–20)
 - C. Hylas lured by a stag and caught by a nymph on Juno's instigation (521–64)

- D. Hercules' reaction to Hylas' disappearance and his search for him (565–97)
- E. The Argonauts' reaction, their debate and decision to leave (598–725)
 - 1. The Argonauts' first response to the absence of their companions (598–610)
 - 2. Juno's intervention (611–14)
 - 3. Jason's speech (615–27)
 - 4. Attitude of the Argonauts (628–36)
 - 5. Telamon's and Meleager's speeches (637–89)
 - 6. Effect of Meleager's speech and Telamon's reaction (690–716)
 - 7. The Argonauts' departure and their feelings (717–25)
- F. Closure: Hercules in distress (726–40)

Book 3 may be viewed as a diptych with close links between the two main parts.⁸¹ In both the dramatic action unfolds from the thoughts or utterances of an angry goddess for whom the Argonauts' arrival is an opportunity to carry out revenge for past events (Cybele on Cyzicus, Juno on Hercules). These scenes have been inspired by Juno's monologues opening the two halves of Virgil's *Aeneid* (*Aen.* 1 and 7); in both epics the second intervention receives more prominence, and it involves more planning and activity on the part of the goddess.⁸²

In both episodes in VF's book 3 (as in *Aen.* 7) young men (Cyzicus, Hylas) are out hunting, and their encounter with a special animal leads to disaster owing to an intervention of a goddess (though Cyzicus' hunt was not engineered by the goddess and happened in the past). The goddesses act when they spot a good opportunity presented by the Argonauts' voyage, and the realization of their plans involves further humans, while these remain unaware of their use as instruments (to readers it is indicated retrospectively that the course of events was fated). There is a difference in the roles of the protagonists: Cyzicus is 'punished' by the goddess Cybele (with the Argonauts as instruments), while Hercules is the object of Juno's hatred (with Hylas as instrument). Ultimately, Jupiter prevents excessive suffering, and a divinely inspired solution is found for the survivors (purification and atonement ritual for the Argonauts after the battle, reassurance and new task for Hercules). In both cases the divine interventions

⁸¹ Lüthje (1971: 127) already noted some parallels between the two parts of the book.

⁸² As Hardie (1989: 5 and n. 17) observes, the mythical story chosen by VF did not allow him to arrange his entire poem round two interventions by Juno like the *Aeneid*, but the poet adopts this model for the Hercules subplot.

cause a crisis for the entire group, which puts the completion of the mission at risk, since the Argonauts are at first unable to continue their journey. Both victims (Cyzicus, Hercules through Hylas) eventually realize the ulterior reasons for the incidents (3.235–42, 4.25–37), while the other human characters do not.

Besides being a carefully structured entity in itself, VF's book 3 is integrated into the epic as a whole, not only by the elimination of pauses at book ends, but also by links to other episodes and the parallel or contrastive repetition of motifs. The Hylas episode is part of a Hercules theme: the scene takes up Juno's enraged outburst at Hercules' first appearance (1.107–19); Hercules' desolation (resolved at 4.1–81) contrasts with the successful rescue of Hesione in book 2 (2.451–578; cf. 3.512–14) and the freeing of Prometheus in book 5 (5.154–76); the Cyzicus episode in the first half of book 3 forms a transition, since Hercules is successful (3.124–37, 161–72), while the sad fate of his companion is hinted at (3.182–5). After removing Hercules from the Argonautic band, Juno will have to find other means of helping Jason; she therefore enlists Medea to enable the Argonauts to win the Golden Fleece (5.280–91, 6.427–54). The effects of the Hylas episode for the Argonauts are called to mind when they miss Hercules (4.247–8) and Jason feels guilty at having abandoned him (5.41–2, 574).

The battle between Greeks and Asians on Cyzicus foreshadows both the battle in Colchis in book 6, where the Argonauts are asked to participate in a fraternal conflict between the Colchians Perses and Aeetes before obtaining the Golden Fleece (5.533–41), and the later fighting between the Argonauts and the pursuing Colchians in book 8 (8.259–384); the conflict in Colchis is introduced by Juno's speech describing the situation in the Hylas episode (3.492–505).⁸³ Like Cybele, who feels that items sacred to her have not been honoured sufficiently, Mars fears for the Golden Fleece and therefore provokes the fighting in Colchis in book 6 (5.618–48, 6.1–32).⁸⁴ The hospitable welcome that the Argonauts receive from Cyzicus at the end of book 2, followed by deaths at the beginning of the subsequent book, is paralleled by their reception by king Lycus, when they arrive at the Mariandyni at the end of book 4 (4.733–62), and the death of two Argonauts at the beginning of book 5 (5.1–72).⁸⁵ The two episodes are also linked since Jason will offer a garment he received from Cyzicus as a funeral gift (5.6–7), just as he gives a garment received from Hypsipyle on Lemnos (2.408–17) to Cyzicus (3.340–2). What Mopsus reveals about life after death and the punishment of the consciously or unconsciously

⁸³ See also Fucecchi 1996: 122–3. ⁸⁴ See Schenk 1999: 156.

⁸⁵ See Adamietz 1976a: 42–3.

guilty (3.377–416) supplements the underworld scene in connection with the deaths of Jason's parents at the end of book 1 (1.827–51).

The threat to the continuation of their journey after the Argonauts realize the nature of the battle on Cyzicus (3.364–71) creates a situation similar to their extended stay on Lemnos; yet there they can overcome their (pleasant) lethargy of their own accord after having been admonished by Hercules (2.369–92), while on Cyzicus supernatural help in the shape of a purification and atonement ritual is needed (3.377–458). The Hylas episode shows similarities with the other major episode in book 2, the Hesione episode, since in both cases Hercules moves away from the Argo into the countryside with a friend (2.451–2); yet while he saves Hesione and then eagerly returns to the Argonauts' mission (2.574–6), he loses his companion Hylas, is devastated at the loss and leaves the expedition as a result.⁸⁶

The question of whether or not to abandon Hercules foreshadows the same dilemma with respect to Medea (who, in some ways, functions as a replacement of Hercules).⁸⁷ In book 8 too, Jason is torn between his obligation to a loved one and his responsibility for the mission and the wishes of the crew: Jason would prefer to remain loyal and take Medea with him, but he is overwhelmed by the views of his companions. At the end of the extant narrative Jason seems to be giving in to their entreaties (8.385–407), but passages alluding to Jason's and Medea's future fate (1.224–6, 5.440–51, 8.247–51), along with the mythical tradition, suggest that Jason does not abandon her.

3.2 *Meaning and relevance*

While the main 'factual' elements of the episodes in book 3 come from the mythical tradition, they have been given a distinctive format in VF. The specific shape of the narrative in VF is revealed most obviously by divergences from AR, in particular: the elimination of a battle with the earth-born men on Cyzicus during the Argonauts' first stay, the addition of a divine motivation for the Argonauts' return to Cyzicus, a more extended narrative of the battle between the Argonauts and the people of Cyzicus upon their second visit, the addition of a subsequent purification and

⁸⁶ On similarities between books 2 and 3 see also Shey 1968: 84–6, 105–7 (with emphasis on the development of the Argonauts), Shelton 1971: 137, 151.

⁸⁷ For links between episodes see Adamietz 1976a *passim*; on Jason in book 8 see also Ripoll 2008. Schimann (1997) sees a similar preparatory function in the Lemnos episode in book 2, since it foreshadows, in the behaviour of Hypsipyle and the other Lemnian women, the conflict around Medea's *pietas*. In this reading the major episodes during the journey in the first half of the epic introduce the themes and issues relevant for the events in Colchis in the poem's second half.

atonement ritual, the introduction of Juno as a driving force in the Hylas episode, the Argonauts' discussion about abandoning Hercules when they notice his loss before they set off, and the lack of an appearance of the sea-god Glaucus to inform them of what has happened. In both scenes the role of the gods in bringing about the incidents is enhanced, while the consequential distress of the humans problematizes the divine intervention.

The Cyzicus episode forms a long section placed almost exactly in the middle of the narrative of the journey and its preparations in the first half of the poem (with roughly two books each preceding and following). Additionally, in VF Cyzicus is explicitly situated at the point where the Argonauts first cross from Europe into Asia (2.613–20). Against the background of Jupiter's plan of the world (1.531–60), according to which the seas are opened to introduce fighting between nations and to enable the transition of supremacy from Asia to Greece and then to a third (unnamed) empire, the battle in Cyzicus (3.95–248) is the first incident to illustrate the results of the opening of the seas by showing (unintentional) violent clashes between Greeks and Asians.⁸⁸ These form a prelude to the fighting in Colchis, introduced by VF, and to the later conflict between Europe (Greece) and Asia (1.542–54), triggered by Jason's abduction of Medea (8.395–9).⁸⁹

The extensive purification and atonement ceremony on Cyzicus (added by VF) enables the Argonauts to move on (3.377–458). It is also the most detailed exposition of theological or philosophical issues because the poet has the seer Mopsus explain the ritual and its sources: Mopsus outlines that those guilty of murder will be punished by the souls of their victims, while those who have killed unwillingly are tortured by their own conscience.

The Argonauts' sufferings in this book bear out Jupiter's initial statement that he has made the 'path to heaven' for the Argonauts 'hard and toilsome' (1.565–6). That the gods in VF reveal their plans to humans only vaguely and selectively, as illustrated in the Phineus episode (4.477–82, 559–60, 623–5), has repercussions for the attitude of humans to oracles: characters want to know about the future, even expect information from

⁸⁸ It has been suggested that, because on Cyzicus the Argonauts basically eliminate the local populace, the continuous wars between the people of Cyzicus and the Pelasgians (2.656–62) will cease and thus this transitional passage between Europe and Asia will be opened up (Dräger 2003: on 3.354–5a). However, while king Cyzicus and many fighters die, there is no indication that the entire population of Cyzicus is wiped out, and it is not clear what effect the battle has on the enemies of the people of Cyzicus.

⁸⁹ The battle on Cyzicus thus does not have a long-term positive goal, but this does not mean that it 'does not make sense' or that Jason is presented as responsible for a 'mad war' (thus Mehmél 1934: 95, Gärtner 1994: e.g. 104–6, 129, 165, 212, 286).

the gods, but they tend to ignore negative prophecies. Variants of this attitude are illustrated in book 3: after Cyzicus' death the narrator reveals that his fate was foreshadowed to Cyzicus, but he ignored the warnings (3.352–6); confronted with his having killed Cyzicus, Jason complains that he was not informed by seers or oracles of the sad fate in store for him (3.299–303); when Hercules has disappeared, Jason remembers an oracle that announced that the strongest companion would remain behind before the Symplegades (3.617–22).

Therefore book 3 can be seen as presenting the poem's main themes in a microcosm. The two incidents challenge the crew's emotional strength and demonstrate the hardship associated with opening the seas. Both events are caused by goddesses exploiting the Argonautic voyage as an opportunity for taking revenge; while their initiatives will not affect the completion of the journey, they mean distraction and suffering for the Argonauts.

3.3 Characters

Throughout the *Argonautica* the Argonauts, introduced in the first line (1.1 *deum magnis . . . natis*), play a major role as a group; in fact, if the poem has a single hero, it will rather be the Argo.⁹⁰ In book 3 the Argonauts are prominent in all three sections: in the Cyzicus episode they enter battle as a tightly knit mass, they recognize in the morning what has happened and are terrified, they lament Jason's fortune, they take part in the funeral ceremonies, they are struck down by their feelings of guilt and need expiation from Mopsus before they can move on; the Argonauts then compete in the 'rowing contest'; and the Hylas episode highlights their group dynamics, when they have to decide whether or not to leave without Hercules.

Jason is the leader of this group, and his portrait is more nuanced in VF than in AR: in the Cyzicus episode he interacts with Cyzicus, first in the farewell scene, then in killing him and later by delivering a 'funeral speech' and arranging his funeral; he takes on responsibility when he guides his men into battle and later prompts the seer Mopsus to initiate the purification and atonement. In the Hylas episode Jason provokes a decision by inviting a discussion; in the end he does what the fates and his men want although this goes against his personal inclinations.

Jason in AR (as in VF to a certain extent) has been regarded as a 'failed hero' and a 'weak leader', but VF's Jason has been 'rehabilitated' in more recent scholarship.⁹¹ Yet there is still some debate about whether he is

⁹⁰ See Ehlers 1998: 149; but see Zissos 2005: 505, who notes that VF foregrounds particular individuals.

⁹¹ On Jason in VF see e.g. Wagner 1939: 120–2, Carson 1963: 264–5, Adamietz 1970, 1976a, Burck 1971: 28–9, Hull 1979: 395–406, Cecchin 1984, Pollini 1984,

similar to *pius Aeneas*⁹² or is mainly driven by a desire for *gloria* and ready to make concessions in the interests of success.⁹³ Unlike Aeneas, Jason is not privy to the divinely ordained significance of the mission and is not guided by obvious divine signs. Nevertheless, he takes the lead as required when he resolves difficulties or is the first to go into battle on Cyzicus once military action has been provoked (3.80–6), just as he spontaneously offers help to Cyzicus when he learns of the constant attacks by Pelasgians (2.659–62).⁹⁴ In contrast to AR, there are no doubts that Jason is the natural leader with an established heroic reputation; even when Meleager complains about the waiting in Mysia, he respects Jason's leadership (3.649–51).⁹⁵

At the same time Jason is a 'human' hero: hence he shares the feelings of lethargy and sadness after the battle of Cyzicus; this shows how shocking the recognition of the truth is, when the narrator stresses that even Jason grieves openly although a leader should suppress such feelings (3.369–71). After Hercules and Hylas have disappeared, Jason is devastated; the narrator mentions that in his sadness Jason thinks of Hercules as a friend, remembering his characteristic behaviour, rather than worrying about the loss of a strong fighter for the enterprise (3.604–10). Despite his heroic activity and best efforts, in each main episode of book 3 Jason loses a friend, Cyzicus and Hercules respectively.⁹⁶ His heroism does not lead to positive outcomes, and his own ideals have to give way to what fate and his companions demand.⁹⁷

By adding a lengthy discussion among the Argonauts on whether or not to wait for Hercules (3.598–725), the poet illustrates Jason's loyalty towards friends as well as the conflict between such feelings, the demands of leadership, the dynamics of a group and the forces of fate. When Jason initiates a debate among the Argonauts and accepts the majority vote against his own feelings, this could be seen as a leader's weakness. However, VF indicates that Jason recognizes that there are different views and considerable self-confidence among the group. This suggests that Jason's invitation to discuss the next steps is meant to be an appropriate reaction to the complex situation; with the two opposite courses of

action and the lack of a feasible compromise, there cannot be an entirely satisfactory result.

Hercules is the second individual Argonaut with a major role in book 3: he is the only other warrior who has two appearances in the battle on Cyzicus (3.133–7, 161–72), he is the person who ends the 'rowing contest' and causes the landing in Mysia (3.474–86), and the Hylas story is one of the main episodes dedicated to his experiences.⁹⁸ On the one hand, Hercules is a hero who is confident in his enormous strength and does not hesitate to use it and who is known to like drinking and be subject to divinely provoked labours (3.161–72, 474–80, 607–10). On the other hand, he is a loyal friend, concerned for the welfare of his companion Hylas and helpless at his loss (3.565–97, 733–40).⁹⁹ Although Hercules' eventual deification has been announced at the start (1.561–7), this will be a *durum . . . iler el graue* (1.565), and he is made to suffer along the way, with (his father) Jupiter only intervening to stop extreme suffering (4.1–21).¹⁰⁰

Jason and Hercules have often been compared, since, as already in AR, they stand out among the Argonauts: Jason is the leader, and Hercules is physically the strongest member of the crew. Even though in book 3 both of them are successful fighters in the battle on Cyzicus, Hercules' fighting prowess is so outstanding that his loss endangers the success of the expedition. Moreover, Jason kills his friend Cyzicus and is forced to deal with the consequences. When Hercules loses his friend Hylas, this happens without his direct involvement, and for him the gods eventually resolve the situation, soothing his troubles. Jason, in his position as leader, has to deal with feelings of guilt and responsibility and to think on behalf of the entire group, although his immediate emotional reaction is similar to that of Hercules.

Hercules' beloved companion Hylas is a young, beautiful boy, easily distracted. Hylas has his first, successful taste of war (3.182–5) before he is snatched away by a nymph at Juno's instigation. Hylas is not yet

Lefèvre 1991, Hershkowitz 1998a: 105–28, Ripoll 1998: 89–94, 2008, Tschiedel 2002, Castelletti 2014; on Jason in AR see e.g. Hunter 1988, Clauss 1993: 210–11.

⁹² Thus e.g. Adamietz 1976b: 459–60, Ehlers 1998: 150–1; see also Tschiedel 2002.

⁹³ Thus e.g. Lühje 1971 (*contra* Adamietz 1976b), Lefèvre 1991: 178–80; see also Wacht 1991b: 118–19, Zissos 2005: 505 (more cautiously).

⁹⁴ See Fucecchi 1996: 120. ⁹⁵ See also Anzinger 2007: 170–1.

⁹⁶ That VF presents 'real' individuals who may be torn by conflicting emotions and constraints is an element of VF's 'modern' style according to Kröner (1968: 753).

⁹⁷ Ripoll (2008) explains Jason's ambiguous appearance by the fact that in VF's narrative pathos may dominate over ethos. He believes that Jason has traits of both an uncontested leader and a *primus inter pares* and VF does not commit himself to either of these interpretations, applying whichever suits best in each scene.

⁹⁸ On Hercules in VF and the comparison between Hercules and Jason see e.g. Piot 1965: 352–8, Shey 1968: 280–3, Adamietz 1970, Galinsky 1972: 163–4, Burck 1979: 243–4, Billerbeck 1986a: 3130–4, Hershkowitz 1998a: 146–59, Ripoll 1998: 88–112, Edwards 1999, Zissos 2008: on 1.107–20; on the creation of a 'Hercules thread' across the epic see Adamietz 1970. On paraphrases used for Hercules' name and their possible meanings see Edwards 1999: 150, 160–1; on Hercules and the myths surrounding him see Stafford 2012.

⁹⁹ Hercules' exclusion may already be foreshadowed at his first appearance (1.107–11), when he arrives of his own accord to join the Argonautic voyage, and he and his companion Hylas are introduced separately from the catalogue of the Argonauts (see Zissos 2002: 76–9).

¹⁰⁰ Hercules' double-sided presentation may be influenced by early imperial Stoicism (see Billerbeck 1986a: 3130–4).

equally important to the other Argonauts, although everybody likes him (3.598–600).

The seer Mopsus has his most extended and significant appearance in book 3: because of him a purification and atonement ritual can be established and carried out (3.377–458), which allows the Argonauts to move on after unwillingly killing many of their hosts on Cyzicus. Mopsus appears as an almost supernatural figure who conveys essential truths to the other Argonauts and is able to save them due to his superior knowledge and his position as a kind of intermediary between the human and the divine worlds (see also 1.207–28, 8.395–9).

Out of the remaining Argonauts two are particularly relevant for the plot in book 3: Meleager and Telamon represent the two sides of the argument in the discussion on whether or not to wait for Hercules; each is introduced in a way that prepares his speech and point of view (3.637–9, 645–9). Telamon is presented as a pious and loyal friend, who regards Hercules as exceptional (3.640–5, 696–716). Meleager is characterized as someone who tends to support the wrong cause and has no regard for what is right; he is eager to carry on with the enterprise and claims that Hercules is only one among many (3.649–89). Even though Meleager is not depicted as a particularly likeable individual, his character has aspects of a tragic figure: he suggests what is decreed by fate, but will be punished for doing so, as indicated to Hercules in Hylas' dream appearance (4.32–4).

In the battle narrative of the Cyzicus episode (3.95–248) many fighters on the sides of both the Argonauts (15) and the people of Cyzicus (36) are named. Some of these Argonauts take part in the Argonautic expedition only in VF's version, such as Nestor or Tydeus. All of them have particular features, known from the catalogue (1.352–583) or the mythical tradition, which are exploited for the specific way in which they contribute to the battle; some are given a mini-vignette, like Nestor as a wise man with authority (3.143–9) or Idmon wearing the armour received as a gift from his former host (3.173–7).¹⁰¹

About the people from Cyzicus nothing else is known apart from what is said in the context of their appearances in the battle; almost all named fighters from Cyzicus die while no Argonaut is wounded or killed (see 95–248n.). Only king Cyzicus and his wife Clite are prominent. Cyzicus is characterized as a young man who is open-minded, polite and generous, who acts spontaneously and decisively. Accordingly, he is carried away in his eagerness for booty when he is out keenly hunting on mount Dindymon and hence kills a lion of Cybele's. Since it was not obvious to Cyzicus at the time that it was a sacred lion (3.19–26), it is not a conscious

¹⁰¹ On the 'other' Argonauts see Kleywegt 1991, Dräger 2004; on the Argonauts as a group see Lovatt 2014.

act of *hybris* or disrespect towards the goddess. Nevertheless, the goddess seeks punishment and arranges for his death (3.27–31). Cyzicus is warned that disaster is awaiting him but ignores these predictions, as humans commonly do (3.352–6). Only at the point of his death is he able to understand that his fate is the result of revenge by the angry Cybele (3.235–42). Since Cyzicus dies without offspring, his dynasty comes to an end (3.343–6). The effect of Cyzicus' death on his family and country is illustrated by the grief of his wife Clite, who bewails her utter loneliness (3.314–31).

4 TEXT AND TRANSMISSION

4.1 *Transmission of the Argonautica*

Modern editors up to and including the 1970 Teubner edition by E. Courtney based the text primarily on manuscript V (*codex Vaticanus Latinus* 3277), the oldest (ninth century) and regarded as most authoritative (for explanations of sigla see below).¹⁰² W.-W. Ehlers then showed in a detailed study (1970), providing the groundwork for his subsequent Teubner edition (1980), that not all later manuscripts go back to V. Ehlers established that a common ancestor (ω , later called γ) first split into two branches (α and L), that α in turn split into two further branches (V and $[S]$) and that L became the basis of a number of later manuscripts. Of these stages L and V survive; $[S]$ is reconstructed on the basis of three copies: X (of which P is a copy), Π and the ancestor of O , Q and Mal . Additionally, there are a number of later manuscripts and *florilegia*, all derivative.

Moreover, it had always been known that the Belgian scholar Ludovicus Carrio (Louis Carrion, 1547–95) stated that he had used a further manuscript (containing 1.1–8.105; now lost) for his editions in 1565 and 1566; he claimed that he found it in an unspecified location in his native country and it was around 600 years old.¹⁰³ Some scholars had taken into account the readings reported from this manuscript (C), but most did not place much value on them (other than as evidence for early conjectures); it was believed that this manuscript was part of the same tradition to which the other manuscripts belonged or that Carrio's testimony was confusing and doubtful. Following a few earlier scholars, in 1989 P. R. Taylor argued for the authenticity and authority of manuscript C , belonging to a tradition independent of V , $[S]$ and L , since a then newly discovered medieval

¹⁰² For a survey of the current assessment of the transmission see the introduction in Zissos 2008 and Taylor-Briggs 2014. On the transmission see also Schmidt 1976, Reeve 1983, Liberman 1993.

¹⁰³ See Carrio's prefaces, quoted in Liberman 1997: LXXXII–LXXXIII.

catalogue (dating to c. 1049–1160) from the Belgian monastery of Lobbes confirmed that a manuscript matching Carrio's description once existed;¹⁰⁴ Taylor also showed that Carrio's other scholarly work does not bear signs of dishonesty or deception. These findings were made more plausible by the discovery of the last leaf of a manuscript, containing 8.46–105.¹⁰⁵ This piece is now thought to belong to Carrio's manuscript: it explains the point at which Carrio's testimony ends and allows a dating of the manuscript to the twelfth century.

The common ancestor of *L* and α then came to be called γ , while ω became the ancestor of γ and *C*. G. Liberman, for his Budé edition (1997/2002), reconsidered the issue: he confirmed that Carrio's manuscript (*C*) represented a branch different from those established by Ehlers.¹⁰⁶ Liberman therefore regarded the testimony in Carrio's editions as worthy of attention (and reported the evidence in full), a principle in the meantime also accepted by Ehlers.¹⁰⁷ The *codex Carrionis* might go back to a northern French manuscript tradition, to which excerpts in medieval *florilegia* may also belong.¹⁰⁸

Sigla (after Ehlers 1980, Liberman 1997, Zissos 2008)

codices potiores

- ω exemplar codicum γ + *C* (+ *f*)
- γ exemplar codicum *L* + α (= ω ap. Ehlers)
- L* cod. Laurentianus plut. 39.38, saec. xv (a. 1429 aut paulo ante)
- α exemplar codicum *V* + *S*
- V* cod. Vaticanus Latinus 3277, saec. ix
- [*S*] cod. Sangallensis (deperditus), saec. ix–x; restituitur e tribus apographis saec. xv: *X*, exemplari codicis Π , exemplari codicum *O* *Q* *Mal*
- X* cod. Matritensis 8514, olim *X*. 81, saec. xv (a. 1416)
- P* cod. Vaticanus Latinus 1613, saec. xv (apographon cod. *X*)
- Π cod. Vaticanus Latinus 1614, saec. xv (ante a. 1475)
- O* cod. Vaticanus Ottobonianus lat. 1258, saec. xv

¹⁰⁴ See Dolbeau 1978: esp. 10–11 and n. 37, 33 (no. 303), 1979: esp. 227–8 (no. 303). On the possible implications of this find see also Coulson 1986.

¹⁰⁵ See Liberman 1990, Ehlers 1991: 29–34.

¹⁰⁶ Hurka (2003, 2006) later supported the view of the independence of the *codex Carrionis*, though the manuscript has suffered from interpolation (for a critical review of Hurka 2003 see e.g. Roggen 2005).

¹⁰⁷ See Ehlers 1985: 339–41, 1991: 22–34.

¹⁰⁸ On the relationship between the *codices posteriores* related to *L*, specifically *Reg* and *Mes*, see Ramires 2000: Ramires argues that *Mes* transmits a large number of readings so far attributed to the *editio princeps* and also found in *Vat*, *Reg* and *M*²; since *Mes* is seen as predating the *editio princeps*, it is suggested that these readings should be attributed to *Mes*.

- Q* cod. Oxoniensis Coll. Reginensis lat. 314, saec. xv
 - Mal* cod. Malatestianus Aesinas / Caesenas S. xii. 3, saec. xv (aa. 1464 vel 1465)
 - C* cod. Carrionis (deperditus)
- codices recentiores (selecti)**
- Bon* cod. Bononiensis Bibl. Univers. 2809, saec. xv
 - Bu* cod. Burmanni deperditus, saec. xv vel xvi
 - E* cod. Neapolitanus Bibl. Nat. iv. E. 38, saec. xvi
 - Ha* cod. Harlesii qui dicitur
 - M* cod. Monacensis Latinus 802 (Victorinus 123), saec. xv (ante a. 1451 Florentiae)
 - Mes* cod. Messanensis Mus. Nat. xii C 7.1048
 - Olis* cod. Olisiponensis Bibl. da Ajuda 49-III-40
 - R* cod. Vaticanus Reginensis lat. 1831 (olim bibl. S. Silvestris), saec. xv (a. 1488)
 - Reg* cod. Vaticanus Reginensis lat. 1869, saec. xv
 - Vat* cod. Vaticanus Ottobonianus lat. 1515, c. a. 1463
 - W* cod. Vaticanus Chisianus H. V. 173, saec. xv (manus correctrix *W*^c Pomponii Laeti)

codex et editiones Carrionis

- C* cod. Carrionis secundum eius duas editiones
- C*¹/*C*² testimonia in prima/secunda editione Carrionis
- c* textus VF impressus in duabus editionibus Carrionis
- c*¹/*c*² textus VF impressus in prima/secunda editione Carrionis
- c*^{*} textus VF impressus in duabus edd. Carrionis et minime una editione anteriore
- f* consensus florilegiorum quae quoque loco exstant
 - m* Parisinus, Bibl. Mazarin. 3863, saec. xv
 - p* Parisinus latinus 7647, saec. xii^{ex}
 - s* Vaticanus Reginensis 2120, saec. xii

editiones veteres

- B-1474 Editio princeps, Bononia 1474
- B-1498 Editio tertia, Bononia 1498
- F-1481 Editio secunda, Florentiae 1481
- F-1503 Editio Iuntina, Florentiae 1503
- V-1523 Editio Aldina, Venetiis 1523

4.2 This edition of book 3

For this edition the apparatus in the most recent critical editions, by W.-W. Ehlers (1980) and by G. Liberman (1997), have been consulted (with

occasional reference to E. Courtney (1970) and P. Langen (1896)). The reported readings in all major manuscripts, including *C*, have been taken into account, but the manuscripts themselves have not been checked again.

In line with the conventions of the series, the critical apparatus is limited: documentation is only given where the text is uncertain or controversial or where emendations have been adopted (if generally accepted, they are not always discussed in the commentary). Corrections of scribal errors or alternative readings in the manuscripts, when only one of those can be right, have not been listed, and conjectures that have not found favour are only mentioned when they point to interesting interpretations.

While scholars now seem to be broadly in agreement on the history of the text, the facts remain that the archetype apparently contained a number of errors, which caused various attempts at emendation in later manuscripts, and that VF's language is complex (see Intro. 2.7).¹⁰⁹ In book 3 there are a number of scribal errors, but many of these are obvious and can easily be corrected. In three cases lines may be missing or have been transmitted in the wrong place (3.25, 77, 273; see nn. *ad loc.*).

Quotations from other books of VF's epic have been taken from Ehlers' edition.

VALERI FLACCI ARGONAVTICON LIBER TERTIVS

¹⁰⁹ See Delz 1976: 96: 'The task of editing Valerius Flaccus is a very difficult one for two interconnected reasons: his language is often violently distorted or tantalizingly allusive, and the transmitted text is utterly corrupt.'

VALERI FLACCI ARGONAVTICON
LIBER TERTIVS

Tertia iam gelidas Tithonia soluerat umbras
exueratque polum; Tiphyn placida alta uocabant.
it tectis Argoa manus, simul urbe profusi
Aenidae caris socium digressibus haerent.
dant Cererem lectumque pecus nec palmite Bacchum 5
Bithyno Phrygioue satum sed quem sua noto
colle per angustae Lesbos freta suggerit Helles.
ipse agit Aesonidae iunctos ad litora gressus
Cyzicus abscessu lacrimans † coniunx persocia uestes † 9
muneribus, primas coniunx Percosia uestes 25
quas dabat et picto Clite uariauerat auro; 10
tum galeam et patriae telum insuperabile dextrae
addidit. ipse ducis pateras et Thessala contra
frena capit manibusque datis iunxere penates.
tu mihi nunc causas infandaque proelia, Clio,
pande uirum! tibi enim superum data, uirgo, facultas 15
nosse animos rerumque uias. cur talia passus
arma, quid hospitibus iunctas concurrere dextras
Iuppiter? unde tubae nocturnaue mouit Erinys?
Dindyma sanguineis famulum bacchata lacertis
dum uolucris quatit asper equo siluasque fatigat 20
Cyzicus, ingenti praedae deceptus amore
assuetum Phrygias dominam uectare per urbes
oppressit iaculo redeuntem ad frena leonem.
et tunc ille iubas captiuaque postibus ora 24
imposuit, spoliū infelix diuaeque pudendum. 26

4 Aenidae *Fontius* (*ap. Fera* 1979), *V-1523*: caeneadae γ: Aeneadae C* 9 coniunx
persocia uestes γ: cui tradit amicis C: oneratque superbis *V-1523* 25 *suo loco C'*
V-1523: post 24 γ 12 pateras γ c*: phaleras *Heinsius* 13 penates *Gronovius*:
nepotes γ c* 15 tibi *L. c**: ubi α 19 Dindyma *B-1474 c*: dindama
γ 23 oppressit *Reg M² B-1474 c*: oppressus γ 24 tunc *Bon V-1523*: nunc γ c*

quae postquam Haemoniam tantae non immemor irae
aerisono de monte ratem praefixaque regum
scuta uidet, noua monstra uiro, noua funera uoluit,
ut socias in nocte manus utque impia bella
conserat et saeuis erroribus implicet urbem.

30

nox erat et leni canebant aequora sulco
et iam prona leues spargebant sidera somnos.
aura uehit; religant tonsas ueloque Procneseon
et te iam medio flauentem, Rhyndace, ponto
spumosumque legunt fracta Scylaceon ab unda.
ipse diem longe solisque cubilia Tiphys
consulit, ipse ratem uento stellisque ministrat.
atque illum non ante Sopor luctamine tanto
lenit agens diuum imperiis. cadit inscia clauo
dextera demittitque oculos, solataque puppis
turbine flectit iter portuque refertur amico.

35

ut notis allapsa uadis, dant aethere longo
signa tubae uox et mediis emissa tenebris:
'hostis habet portus, soliti rediere Pelasgi.'
rupta quies: deus ancipitem lymphauerat urbem,
Mygdoniae Pan iussa ferens saeuissima Matris,
Pan nemorum belli<que> potens, quem lucis ab horis
antra tenent, patet ad medias per deuia noctes
saetigerum latus et toruae coma sibila frontis.
uox omnes super una tubas, qua conus et enses,
qua trepidis auriga rotis nocturnaue muris
claustra cadunt: talesque metus non Martia cassis
Eumenidumque comae, non tristis ab aethere Gorgo
sparserit aut tantis aciem raptauerit umbris.
ludus et ille deo, pavidum praesepibus aufert
cum pecus et profugi sternunt dumeta iuuenci.

40

45

50

55

60

35 et te iam *B-1474*: ecce iam γ : et Caeam *C* Rhyndace *B-1498*: Rundace
(rhun- *C*) ω 36 Scylaceon (scyll- *L*) *ab* γ : Scyllaceon *C* 47 Pan iussa *Reg B-1474*
c: panius ista γ 48 belli<que> *Reg B-1474 c*: belli γ ab horis *Maserius*: adoris γ :
ad ortus *C*: ad horas *W* *B-1498*: ab oris *Politianus tamquam e* γ , *Pius* 54 aethere γ
*c**: aegide *Heinsius*

nuda latus passuque mouens orichalca sonoro
astitit et triplici pulsans fastigia crista
inde ciere uirum. sequitur per moenia demens
ille deam et fatis extrema in proelia tendit,
qualis in Alciden et Thesea Rhoecus iniqui
nube meri geminam Pholoen maioraque cernens
astra ruit qualisue redit uenatibus actis
lustra pater Triuiamque canens umeroque Learchum
aduehit, at miserae declinant lumina Thebae.
iamque adeo nec porta ducem nec pone moratur
excubias sortita manus, quae prima furenti
aduolat. hinc alii subeunt, ut proxima quaeque
intremuit domus et motus accepit inanes.

65

70

at Minyas anceps fixit pauor. aegra uirorum
corda labant, nec quae regio aut discrimina cernunt,
cur galeae clipeique micent, num peruigil armis,
donec et hasta uolans immani turbine transtris
insonuit monuitque ratem rapere obuia caeca
arma manu. princeps galeam constringit Iason
uociferans: 'primam hanc nati, pater, accipe pugnam
uosque, uiri, optatos huc affore credite Colchos.'
Bistonas in medios ceu Martius exsilit astris
currus, ubi ingentes animae clamorque tubaeque
sanguineae iuuere deum, non segnius ille
occupat arua furens; sequitur uis omnis Achium.
agglomerant latera et densis thoracibus horrens
stat manus, aegisono quam nec fera pectore uirgo
dispulerit nec dextra Iouis Terrorque Pauorque,
Martis equi. sic contextis umbonibus urgent
caeruleo ueluti cum Iuppiter agmine nubem
constituit: certant zephyri frustraue rigentem
pulsat utrimque notus. pendent mortalia longo
corda metu, quibus illa fretis, quibus incidat aruis.

75

76

78

80

85

90

hinc manus infelix clamore impellere magno
saxa facesque atras et tortae pondera fundae:
fert sonitus immota phalanx irasque retentant,

95

65 Rhoecus *Vossius*: Rhoetus ω 69 at *B-1474 c*: ad γ 77 om. γ : hostis et exciti
dent obuia praelia Colchi *C i. mg.*: lacunam indicau. multi edd. 88 pectore *Reg M*
B-1474 c: pectora γ 95 manus *Reg M* *B-1474 c*: munus γ

congeries dum prima fluat. stellantia Mopsus
 tegmina et ingentem Corythi notat Eurytus umbram.
 restitit ille gradu seseque a lumine ferri 100
 sustinuit praeceps, subitum ceu pastor ad amnem
 spumantem nimbis fluctuque arbusta ruentem.
 at Tydeus 'en intentis quem uiribus' inquit
 'opperiar manibusque dari quem comminus optem;
 quo steteris moriere loco.' subit ilia cuspis 105
 Olenii; dedit ille sonum compressaque mandens
 aequora purpuream singulibus expulit hastam.
 ac uelut in medio rupes latet horrida ponto,
 quam super ignari numquam rexere magistri
 praecipites impune rates, sic agmine caeco 110
 incurrit strictis manus ensibus. occubat Iron
 et Cotys et Pyrno melior genitore Bienor.
 at magis interea diuerso turbida motu
 urbs agitur. Genyso coniunx amouerat arma;
 ast illi subitus uentis uiuoque reluxit 115
 torre focus: telis gaudes, miserande, repertis.
 linquit et undantes mensas infectaque pernox
 sacra Medon; chlamys imbelli circumuenit ostro
 torta manum strictoque uias praefulgurat ense.
 talis in arma ruit, nec uina dapesque remota 120
 statque loco torus inque omen mansere ministri.
 inde uagi nec tela modis nec casibus isdem
 conseruere manu et longe iacuere perempti.
 ecce grauem nodis pinguique bitumine quassans
 lampada turbata Phlegyas decurrit ab urbe. 125
 ille leues de more manus aciemque Pelasgum
 per noctem remeasse ratus pulsumque requirens
 saepe sibi uano Thamyrum clamore petebat
 arduus et late fumanti nube coruscus,
 quantus ubi immenso prospexit ab aethere Typhon 130

106 Olenii C: ochenii γ 113 at Mes F-1503 c: et γ 116 torre Reg B-1474
 c: terre (terrae L) γ 121 inque omen Caussin: in quo omen γ c*: insomnes
 Bentley: inque orbem uel inque agmen Frassinetti 1995: 303: inque orbem Caviglia
 dub. in app.: incolumes Liberman: inque ortum fort. Watt apud Liberman | inque
 omen mansere ministris Bury 1893: 402-3: inque omen... sinistrum Postgate 1894:
 309-10 123 manu α C: manus L

igne simul uentisque rubens, quem Iuppiter alte
 crine tenet; trepidant diro sub lumine puppes.
 tollitur hinc totusque ruit Tirynthius † arcu †,
 pectore certa regens aduersa spicula flamma.
 per piceos accensa globos et pectus harundo 135
 per medium contenta fugit; ruit ille comanti
 ore facem supra maiorque apparuit ignis.
 Ambrosium Peleus, ingentem Ancaeus Echeclum
 sternit et elatae propius succedere dextrae
 Telecoonta sinit librataque ora securi 140
 disiecit ceruice tenuis. simul aspera uictor
 cingula sublustri uibrantia detrahit umbra.
 'has, precor, exuuias <et> opima cadauera' Nestor
 'linquite!' ait. 'ferro potius mihi dextera, ferro
 nauet opus!' presumque manu detruncat Amastrum 145
 diuersasque simul socios inuadere turmas
 admonuit. pergunt rupta testudine fusi
 qua tenebrae campique ferunt. grauis inuenit Ochum
 Phlias et trepido Pollux impingitur Hebro.
 ipse super uultus taboque natantia terga 150
 dux campi Martisque potens, ut caeca profundo
 currit hiems, Zelyn et Bronten Abarinque relinquit
 semineces. Glaucum sequitur Glaucumque ruentem
 occupat et iugulo uulnus molitur aperto.
 ille manu contra telum tenet ultima frustra 155
 uerba ciens fixamque uidet decrescere cornum.
 hinc Halyn, hinc rigido transcurrrens demetit ense

132 lumine F-1481 c: limine γ 133 hinc totusque γ: hinc tentoque Baehrens:
 hinc tantusque Köstlin 1880: 419-20: hic strictoque Poortoliet 1994: 493 | Postgate
 1900: 253-5 lac. pos. (tollitur intentoque ruit Tirynthius arcu | in latoque petit fulgentia
 baltea bullis | pectore) arcu ω: acri Heinsius: arcu (dal.) Shackleton Bailey 1977:
 204: arcu, Caviglia: arcus Soubiran 134 pectore γ c*: flexo Bury 1893: 403:
 robore Soubiran 138 Ancaeus B-1498 c: anchaus γ Echeclum Thilo: echelum
 γ: Ethelum C 140 Telecoonta B-1474 c': Teleconta γ c' librataque Shackleton
 Bailey 1977: 204: delicataque ω: deductaque M²: duplicataque Heinsius: gemina-
 taque Thilo: delataque Schenkl (cf. 1871: 88): deieciataque Köstlin 1880: 420-1:
 deieciata atque Frassinetti 1995: 303-4 143 exuuias <et> opima B-1474: exuuias
 opima γ: exuuias o prima C Nestor V-1523: nostro ω 146-85 folio excisso
 desunt in V 148 inuenit γ c*: inruit Heinsius 149 Phlias Reg B-1474:
 Pelias ω 150 natantia Heinsius: labantia γ c*: latentia Frassinetti 1995:
 304 152 Zelyn Maserius: C' (per errorem) c': Zelen γ C² c² Bronten Maserius:
 Broten ω 157 Halyn C: alyn L: calyn [S]

Protin et insignem cithara cantuque fluenti
 Dorcea, qui dulci festis assistere mensis
 pectine Bistoniae magnum post ausus alumnum. 160
 nec pharetram aut acres ultra Tirynthius arcus
 exercet, socia sed disicit agmina claua.
 ac ueluti magna iuuenum cum densa securi
 silua labat cuneisque gemit graue robur adactis
 iamque abies piceaeque ruunt, sic dura sub ictu 165
 ossa uirum malaeque sonant sparsusque cerebro
 albet ager. leuis ante pedes subsederat † Hidmon †.
 occupat os barbamque uiri clauamque superne
 intonat 'occumbes' et 'nunc' ait 'Herculis armis,
 donum ingens semperque tuis mirabile fatum.' 170
 horruit ille cadens nomenque agnouit amicum
 primus et ignaris dirum scelus attulit umbris.
 nec tibi Thessalicos tunc profuit, Ornyte, reges
 hospitii aut mente moras fouisse benigna
 et dapibus sacrasse diem. procul aduenit Idmon 175
 oblatumque ferit, galeam cristasque rubentes
 (heu tua dona) gerens. quem te qualemque uidebit
 attonitus, Crenaeae, parens! en frigidus orbes
 purpureos iam somnus obit, iam candor et anni
 deficiunt uitaque fugit decus omne soluta: 180
 desere nunc nemus et nympharum durus amores!
 at diuersa Sagen turbantem fallere neruo
 tum primum puer ausus Hylas (spes maxima bellis
 pulcher Hylas, si fata sinant, si prospera Iuno)
 prostrauitque uirum celeri per pectora telo. 185
 accessere (nefas) tenebris fallacibus acti
 Tyndaridae in sese: Castor prius ibat in ictus
 nescius, ast illos noua lux subitusque diremit
 frontis apex. tum Castor Ityn, qua caerulus ambit

158 Protin et (Proth-) *C* X^{cc}: protinus γ 163 magna ... securi γ c*: socia ... securi Courtney dub. in app. : ualida ... securi Liberman in app., comm. : multa ... securi Delz in Delz and Watt 1998: 134 167 Hidmon γ: Idmon c*: Admon Thilo: Acmon Liberman in app. (ex Agmon): Agmon 'uir eruditus nescio quis in ora codicis Veneti [i.e. V-1500, Bibl. Val. Inc. IV 278]' Heinsius 169 occumbes F-1481: occumbens γ C et γ: i C: en Baehrens: iam Watt apud Liberman 170 fatum Kramer: satis γ c* 175 dapibus Samuelsson: claribus γ: laribus c* 182 diuersa Sagē C: diuersas agent γ 184 pulcher I. c*: puer [S]

balteus et gemini committunt ora dracones, 190
 frater Hagen Thapsumque securigerumque Nealcen
 transigit et Canthi pallentem uulnere Cydrum.
 torserat hic totis conisis uiribus hastam
 uenatori Erymo, breuis hanc sed fata ferentem
 prodidit et piceo comitem miserata refulsit 195
 Luna polo: cessere iubae raptumque per auras
 uulnus et extrema sonuit cita cuspidē cassis.
 Nisaeum Telamon et Ophelten uana sonantem
 per clipei cedentis opus artemque trilicem,
 qua stomachi secreta, ferit laetusque profatur: 200
 'di, precor: hunc regem aut aeque delegerit alta
 fors mihi gente satum, magnusque et flebilis urbi
 conciderit.' super addit Aren fratremque Melanthum
 Phoeaeque Oleniden, <Le>legum qui pulsus ab oris
 regis amicitiam et famuli propioris honores 205
 (qua patiens non arte?) tulit.
 nox alta cadentum
 ingentes † donec † sonitus augetque ruinas.
 ut magis Inarime, magis ut mugitor anhelat
 Vesuius, attonitas acer cum suscitāt urbes,
 sic pugnae crebrescit opus, neque enim ignea cedunt 210
 astra loco: lentis haeret Nox conscia bigis.
 perge age Tartareae mecum simul omnia noctis,
 Musa, sequi. trepidam Phaethon afflauit ab alto
 Tisiphonen grauiorque locos iam luce propinqua
 umbra premit. non signa uirum, non funera cernunt 215
 et rabie magis ora calent. uos prodite, diuiae,
 Eumenidum noctisque globos uatique patescat
 armorum fragor et tepidi singultibus agri
 labentum atque acti Minyis per litora manes.

191 Nealcen F-1481 c* (Nealcem): nealce γ 192 Canthi M c*: canti γ 199 artemque γ c*: cratemque Heinsius: partemque c² 204 <Le>legum M² Reg B-1474, c: legum γ 206 patiens γ c*: pollens Watt 207 donec γ: donat C: denset Gronovius: resonat Heinsius: duplicat Pius: auget Delz 1976: 99: geminat Liberman in app.: differt Frassinetti 1995: 304 209 Vesuius cod. Monac. [Langen]: Vesbius B-1498: Vesubius ω [Ehlers] / L^{acc} V: vesubus L^k: vesuvius [S]: Vesulus C 212 simul c B-1498: semel γ: semul (i.e. simul) Liberman 213 Phaethon B-1474 c: pheton γ 216 uos B-1474 c: pros γ

Cyzicus hic aciem uanis discursibus implet
fata trahens. iam pulsa sibi cessisse Pelasgum
agmina, iam passim uacuos disiecta per agros
credit ouans; tales † auditus †, ea gaudia fingit
ira deum: fundo ueluti cum Coeus in imo
uincla Iouis fractoque trahens adamante catenas
Saturnum Tityumque uocat spemque aetheris amens
concipit, ast illum fluuiis et nocte remensa
Eumenidum canis et sparsae iuba reppulit Hydrae.
saeuit acerba fremens tardumque a moenibus agmen
increpitat: 'numquamne dolor uirtusue subibit
nil ausas sine rege manus? at barbara buxus
si uocet et motis ululantia Dindyma sacris,
tunc ensis placeatque furor, modo tela sacerdos
porrigat, et iussa sanguis exuberet ulna.'
talibus insultans iamdudum numine diuae
deficit, infracti languescunt frigore cursus,
corda pauent, audit fremitus irasque leonum
cornuaque et motas uidet inter nubila turres.
tunc grauis et certo tendens stridore per umbram
Aesonii uenit hasta ducis latumque sub imo
pectore rumpit iter. quam nunc incognita uellet
lustra sibi nullosque datos uenatibus annos!
taliam magnanimi diuerso turbine fundunt
tela uiri sonitusque pedum suspectaque motu
explorant; prensant socios uocemque reposcunt.
quod si tanta lues seros durasset in ortus,
exstinctum genus et solas per moenia matres
uidisset stratamque dies in litore gentem.
tum pater omnipotens, tempus iam rege perempto
flectere fata ratus miserasque abrumpere pugnas,
supremam celerauit opem nutuque sereno
intonuit, quem Nocte satae, quem turbidus horret

223 auditus γ: aditus c*: habitus R²: ausus Baehrens: flatus Madvig: aestus: Schenkl:
auctus Bury 1893: 404: animos Wagner in comm.: uisus Köstlin 1880: 422: actus
Courtney: laurus (= uictoria) Wall in Delz and Watt 1998: 135: flatus Wall apud
Lieberman 226 Tityumque (titi- V) γ c*: Tityonque R² 230 uirtusue Markland:
uirtute γ c*: uirtusque Heinsius 234 ulna Grotius: urna γ c* 246 (tanta solis)
lues V-1523: (tanta) iouis (seros) ω

Armipotens: tunc porta truci coit infera belli.
continuo dant terga metu uersique per agros
diffugiunt, quae sola salus. nec terga ruentum
mens Minyis conuersa sequi; stetit anxia uirtus.
ecce leui primos iam spargere lumine portus
orta dies notaeque (nefas) albescere turres.
'di maris', attonito conclamat ab agmine Tiphys,
'ut mea fatali damnastis pectora somno!
heu socii quantis complerunt litora monstribus!
illi autem neque adhuc gemitus neque conscia facti
ora leuant. tenet exsanguis rigor horridus artus,
ceu pauet ad crines et tristia Pentheos ora
Thyias, ubi impulsae iam se deus agmine matris
abstulit et caesi uanescunt cornua tauri.
nec minus effusi grandaeuum ad litora uulgu,
ut socias uidere manus, dare uersa retrorsus
terga metu. dextram tendens proclamat Iason:
'quos fugitis? uellem hac equidem me strage meosque
procubuisse magis! deus haec, deus asper utrisque
implicuit. sumus en Minyae, sumus hospita turba!
tum super exsanguis confertae caedis aceruos
praecipiti plangore ruunt; agnoscit in alta
strage uirum sua texta parens, sua munera coniunx.
it gemitus toto sinuosa per aequora caelo.
pars tenues flatus et adhuc stridentia prensat
uulnera, pars sera componunt lumina dextra.
at uero in mediis exsangui rege reperto
aggeribus, tristi sileant ceu cetera planctu,
sic famulum matrumque dolor, sic omnis ad unum
uersa manus. circa lacrimis ac mentibus aegri
stant Minyae deflentque nefas et cuspidis ictus
Aesoniae sortemque ducis solantur acerbam.
ille ubi concretos pingui iam sanguine crines
pallentesque genas infractaque pectore caro

254 uersique C: auersique γ 257 leui γ c*: autem Peerlkamp: † leui † Courtney
primos Vat [Langen]: primo γ c* 272 en B-1474: eu γ: heu c* 273 post 310
coll. Thilo 274 confertae (-te C') C' c* B-1498: consertae (-tes V) γ: lacet C²:
consortes Bury 1893: 404 277 it R² B-1498 c: et γ 278 flatus C: fletus γ
prensat γ: prensant Olis c

tela neque hesternus agnouit in hospite uultus,
 ingemit atque artus fatur complexus amicos:
 'te tamen ignarum tanti, miserande, furoris
 290 nox habet et nullo testantem foedera questu,
 at mihi luctificum uenit iubar. heu quibus adsum
 colloquiis, cui me hospitio fortuna reuexit!
 exstinguine mea (fatis id defuit unum)
 speraui te posse manu talisue reliqui
 295 has ego, amice, domos? quod si iam bella manebant
 et placitum hoc superis, nonne haec mea iustius essent
 funera, meque tuus potius nunc plangeret error,
 nec Clarii nunc antra dei quercusque Tonantis
 arguerem? talesne acies, talesne triumphos
 300 sorte dabant? tantumque nefas mens conscia uatum
 conticuit, patriae exitium crudele senectae
 et tot acerba canens? heu diuis uisa sinistris
 regna mihi! quinam reditus! quae me hospita tellus
 305 accipiet, quae non primis prohibebit harenis?
 inuidere dei ne Phasidis arua remoti
 et Scythicas populatus opes haec rursus adirem
 litora neue tuos irem tunc ultor in hostes.
 fas tamen est conferre genas, fas iungere tecum
 pectora et exsanguis miscere amplexibus artus.
 310 cur etiam flammis miserisque moramur honores?
 273 uos age funereas ad litora uoluite siluas
 311 et socios lustrate rogos, date debita caesis
 munera, quae nostro misisset Cyzicus igni.'
 parte alia Clite laceras super ora mariti
 fusa comas misera in planctus uocat agmina matrum
 315 fatur et haec: 'primis coniunx ereptus in annis
 cuncta trahis; necdum suboles nec gaudia de te
 ulla mihi, quis maesta tuos nunc, optime, casus
 perpeterer tenui luctum solamine fallens.
 Mygdonis arma patrem funestaque proelia nuper
 320 natales rapuere domos Triuiaequae potentis
 occidit arcana genetrix absumpta sagitta:

292 iubar heu *Thilo*: iubar en ω [*Ehlers*] / *L c** [*Lieberman*]: iuuarint α : *fort.* iubarin
vel iuuarin *legi* γ 294 id *B-1498*: ia γ : hoc *C* 297 essent *L'* *c**: esset γ : issent
Heinsius 298 potius *Vat C'* *c*: om. γ : <melius> *B-1474*

tu, mihi qui coniunx pariter fraterque parensque
 solus et a prima fueras spes una iuuenta,
 325 deseris heu, totamque deus simul impulit urbem.
 ast ego non media te saltem, Cyzice, uidi
 tendentem mihi morte manus aut ulla monentis
 uerba tuli; quin te thalamis modo questa morari
 heu talem tantique metus secunda recepi.'
 330 illam uix gemino maerens cum Castore Pollux
 erigit haerentem compressaque colla trahentem.
 interea innumeras nudatis montibus urgent
 certatim decorantque pyras et corpora maesti
 summa locant. uadit sonipes ceruice remissa
 uenatrix nec turba canum pecudesque morantur
 335 funereae, quae cuique manus, quae cura suorum,
 quae fortuna fuit. medio rex aggere longe
 eminent; hunc crebris quatiens singultibus ora
 adleuat Aesonides celsoque reponit in ostro.
 340 dat pictas auro atque ardentes murice uestes
 340 quas rapuit telis festina uocantibus austris
 Hypsipyle. galeam dilectaque cingula regi
 inicit. ille suam uultus conuersus ad urbem
 sceptrum manu ueterum retinet gestamen auorum.
 nam quia nec proles alius nec denique sanguis,
 345 ipse decus regnique refert insigne parenti.
 inde ter armatos Minyis referentibus orbes
 concussi tremuere rogi, ter inhorruit aether
 luctificum clangente tuba. iecere supremo
 tum clamore faces, rerum labor omnis in auras
 350 soluitur et celsis collucet aequora flammis.
 scilicet haec illo iuuenem populosque manebant
 tempore, Peliacis caderet cum montibus arbor:
 hoc uolucrumque minae praesagaque fulmina longo

328 te *Schenkl*: et γ *c** 330 gemino *C*: geminam γ 333 corpora *C*: tempora
 γ 335 pecudesque *Hoeufft*: pecudumque γ *c** 336 funereae γ *c**: inferiae
Heinsius, *Lieberman* (*fort.* quas) | funereaeque tulere manus *Wagner in comm.*:
 funere, nec *Schenkl* (*cf.* 1871: 78): funereae quaeruntque manus *Hirschwälder*
 1870: 34-5 340 pictas *B-1474 c*: piceas γ 341 festina *C*: fortuna
 γ 342 regi *B-1498*: regni γ *c** 346 parenti *Madvig*: parentis γ : paterni
*c** 347 ter *Egnatius*, *V-1523*: per ω 350 rerum γ *f(s²) c**: regum *Gronovius*

acta mari tulerant. sed quis non prima refellat
monstra deum longosque sibi non auguret annos?
iamque solutus honos cineri, iam passibus aegris
dilapsae cum prole nurus tandemque quiescunt
dissona peruigili planctu uada, qualiter arctos
ad patrias auibus medio iam uere reuectis
Memphis et aprici statio silet annua Nili.
at non inde dies nec quae magis aspera curis
nox Minyas tanta caesorum ab imagine soluit.
bis zephyri iam uela uocant. fiducia maestis
nulla uiris, aegro assidue mens carpitur aestu,
necdum omnes lacrimas atque omnia reddita caesis
iusta putant. patria ex oculis acerque laborum
pulsus amor segnique iuuat frigescere luctu.
ipse etiam Aesonides, quamquam tristissima rerum
castiganda duci uultuque premenda sereno,
dulcibus indulget lacrimis aperitque dolorem.
tum secreta trahens Phoebeum ad litora Mopsum
'quaenam' ait 'ista lues aut quae sententia diuum?
decretusne uenit fato pavor an sibi nectunt
corda moras? cur immemores famaeque larisque
angimur aut pariet quemnam haec ignauia finem?'
'dicam' ait 'ac penitus causas labemque docebo.'
Mopsus et astra tuens: 'non si mortalia membra
sortitusque breues et parui tempora fati
perpetimur, socius superi quondam ignis Olympi,
fas ideo miscere neces ferroque morantes
exigere hinc animas redituraque semina caelo.
quippe nec in uentos nec in ultima soluimur ossa;
ira manet duratque dolor. cum deinde tremendi
ad solium uenere Iouis questuque nefandam
edocuere necem, patet ollis ianua leti
atque iterum remeare licet. comes una sororum
additur et pariter terras atque aequora lustrant.

359 Arctos *R B-1498*: arcus γ : agros *C* 362 nec quae *Vossius*: neque γ
c* 363 caesorum *Parisina Ascensiana 1500, F-1503*: laesorum ω 365 aegro
(-os $f(p^{ac})$) adsidue γ f c*: aegra adsiduo *Heinsius* 367 iusta *L'* c*: iuxta
 γ 374 sibi *Pius*: tibi γ c* 375 cur *M^e F-1503 c**: cum γ

quisque suos sontes inimicaque pectora poenis
implicat et uaria meritos formidine pulsant.
at quibus inuito maduerunt sanguine dextrae,
si fors saeua tulit miseris et proxima culpa,
hos uariis mens ipsa modis agit et sua carpunt
facta uiros: resides et iam nil amplius ausi
in lacrimas humilesque metus aegramque fatiscunt
segnitiem, quos ecce uides. sed nostra requirit
cura uiam. memori iam pridem cognita uati
est procul ad Stygiae deuexa silentia noctis
Cimmerium domus et superis incognita tellus
caeruleo tenebrosa situ, quo flammea numquam
Sol iuga sidereos nec mittit Iuppiter annos.
stant <ta>citae frondes immotaque silua comanti
horret Auerna iugo. specus umbrarumque meatus
subter et Oceani praeceps fragor aruaque nigro
uasta metu et subitae post longa silentia uoces.
ensifer hic atraque sedens in ueste Celaeneus
insontes errore luit culpamque remittens
carmina turbatos uoluit placantia manes.
ille mihi quae danda forent lustramina caesis
prodidit, ille uolens Erebum tenebrasque retexit.
ergo ubi puniceas oriens accenderit undas,
te socios adhibere sacris armentaue magnis
bina deis, me iam coetus accedere uestros
haud fas interea, donec lustralia pernox
uota fero. mouet en gelidos Latonia currus:
flecte gradum, placitis sileant age litora coeptis!
iamque sopor mediis tellurem presserat horis
et circum tacito uolitant somnia mundo,

392 si fors saeua tulit miseris et proxima culpa *Delz 1991: 15*: seu fors ... et
proxima culpa *Ellis 1880: 55*: seu fors ... sed proxima culpa *Mozley*: si fors saeua
tulit miseros, sed proxima culpa *Caviglia* | sed proxima culpa γ c*: si proxima
culpa *Reg R'*? : sed proxima culpa *Bu*: et proxima culpa *Heinsius*: sed proxima
culpa *Kramer*: sed proxima culpa *susp. Ehlers in app.* 397 uati *Bu*: uate γ c* |
condita mente *Bentley* 399 Cimmerium γ : Eumenidum *C*: Cimmerion
Quicherat 402 <ta>citae *B-1498 c*: citae γ 403 Auerna *Heinsius*: uerna γ c*:
querna *Courtney* 406 Celaeneus *Thilo*: celeneus γ c* 410 tenebrasque
Cronovius: terrasque γ c* 411 accenderit *Burman*: ascenderit γ c* 412 te
Koster: tu ω adhibere γ : adhibe *M^e*: adhibeto c* 416 placitis γ c*: placidis *Bon*

cum uigil arcani speculatus tempora sacri
 Ampycides petit aduersis Aesepia siluis 420
 flumina et aequoreas pariter decurrit ad undas.
 hic sale purpureo uiuaque nitentia lymphā
 membra nouat seque horrificis accommodat actis.
 tempora tum uitis et supplice castus oliua
 implicat et stricto designat litora ferro, 425
 circum humiles aras ignotaque nomina diuum
 instituit siluaque super contristat opaca:
 utque metum numenque loco sacramque quietem
 addidit, ardenti nitidum iubar euocat alto.
 atque Argoa manus uariis insignis in armis 430
 ibat agens lectas aurata fronte bidentes.
 Delius hic longe candenti ueste sacerdos
 occurrit ramoque uocat iamque ipse recenti
 stat tumulo placida transmittens agmina lauro.
 ducit et ad fluuios ac uincula soluere monstrat 435
 prima pedum glaucasque comis praetexere frondes
 imperat, hinc alte Phoebi surgentis ad orbem
 ferre manus totosque simul procumbere campis.
 tunc piceae mactantur oues prosectaque partim
 † pectora † per medios, partim gerit obuius Idmon. 440
 ter tacitos egere gradus, ter tristia tangens
 arma simul uestesque uirum lustramina ponto
 pone iacit; rapidis adolentur cetera flammis.
 quin etiam truncas nemorum effigiesque uirorum
 rite locat quercus simulataque subligat arma. 445
 huc Stygias transire minas iramque seueri
 sanguinis, his orat uigiles incumbere curas
 atque ita lustrifico cantu uocat: 'ite, perempti,
 ac memores abolete animos. sint otia uobis,
 sit Stygiae iam sedis amor; procul agmine nostro 450
 et procul este mari cunctisque absistite bellis.

420 Ampycides V c*: ampydides L: ampcides [S]: Amphicides C² Aesepia Reg B-1498, c: (aduersi s-)esepia γ: Aesopia C¹: Asopia C² 438 totosque Eyssenhardt 1862: 386: totisque γ c* 440 pectora per medios γ c*: pectora fert Mopsus Wagner: per fora, per medios Wagner 1864: 402: uiscera per medios Schenkl: corpora per medios Löbbach 1869: 7-8: tergora, per medios Baehrens: per medios <Mopsus> Liberman 447 sanguinis γ c*: agminis Heinsius 449 animos R²: animas γ c*: minas X: iras Liberman in app.

uos ego nec Graias umquam contendere ad urbes
 nec triuiis ululare uelim pecorique satisque
 nullae ideo pestes nec luctifer ingruat annus
 nec populi nostrue luant ea facta minores.' 455
 dixerat et summas frondentibus intulit aris
 libauitque dapes, placidi quas protinus angues,
 umbrarum famuli, linguis rapuere coruscis.
 continuo puppem petere et considerare transtris
 imperat Ampycides nec uisum uertere terrae: 460
 exciderint quae gesta manu, quae debita fati.
 illi alacres pars arma locant, pars ardua <- =>
 insternunt tabulata toris oriturque trementum
 remorum sonus et laetae concordia uocis.
 Iuppiter urgentem ceu summa Ceraunia nubem 465
 cum pepulit mouitque iugis, fulsere repente
 et nemora et scopuli nitidusque reducit aether,
 sic animi rediere uiris iamque ipse magister
 nutat ab arce ratis remisque obsistere tendit.
 instaurant primi certamina liber amictu 470
 Eurytus et dictis Talai non territus Idas,
 inde alii increpitant atque aequora pectore tollunt.
 par gemitu pulsuque labor uersumque uicissim
 mittitur in puppem remo mare. laetus et ipse
 Alcides 'quisnam hos uocat in certamina fluctus?' 475
 dixit et intortis assurgens arduus undis
 percussit subito deceptum fragmine pectus
 atque in terga ruens Talaum fortemque Eriboten
 et longe tantae securum Amphiona molis
 obruit inque tuo posuit caput, Iphite, transtro. 480
 iam summas caeli Phoebus candentior arces
 uicerat et longas medius reuocauerat umbras.
 tardior hinc cessante uiro quae proxima Tiphys
 litora quosque dabat densa trabe Mysia montes

454 ideo γ c*: adeo Heinsius 462 <- => Liberman: <--> Courtney: <summis> add. L: om. ω: celsis C: ... Schenkl: scirpeis Schenkl 1871: 63 n. 40: raptus Kramer: fulūs Delz 1976: 99: fartis Poortvliet 1994: 494: lentis Soubiran 469 obsistere ω: insistere Langen: adsistere Delz 1991: 11 tendit ω: tendunt Schenkl (cf. 1871: 83): concit Bury 1893: 404-5 471 Talai B-1498 c: eali ω

aduehitur. petit excelsas Tirynthius ornos; 485
 haeret Hylas lateri passusque moratur iniquos.
 illum ubi Iuno poli summo de uertice puppem
 deseruisse uidet, tempus rata diua nocendi
 Pallada consortem curis cursusque regentem, 490
 nequa inde inceptis fieret mora, fallere prima
 molitur caroque dolis auertere fratri.
 tum sic adloquitur: 'procerum ui pulsus iniqua
 germanique manu (repetis quo crimine) Perses
 barbaricas iam mouit opes Hyrcanaque signa.
 Aeetes contra thalamis et uirgine pacta 495
 conciliat reges Scythicos primusque coacta
 aduehit Albana Styrys gener agmina porta;
 bellum ingens; atque ipse citis Gradiuus habenis
 fundit equos. uiden Arctoo de carcere quanta
 tollat se nubes atque aethere pendeat atro? 500
 corripe prima uias. finem cum Phasidis alti
 transierit Perses aciemque admouerit urbi,
 coepta refer paulumque moras et foedera nocte
 consiliis atque arte tua. sponde adfore reges
 dis genitos, quis arma uolens, quis agmina iungat.' 505
 at uirgo, quamquam insidias aestusque nouercae
 sentiat et blandos quaerentem fingere uultus,
 obsequitur tamen et iussas petit ocus oras.
 ingemuit Iuno tandemque silentia rumpit:
 'en labor, en odiis caput insuperabile nostris! 510
 quam Nemeen tot fessa minis quae bellaue Lerna
 experiar? Phrygiis ultro concurrere monstris
 nempe uirum et † pulchro † reserantem Pergama ponto
 uidimus: en ego nunc regum soror, et mihi gentis
 ullus honos? iam tum indecores iussaeque dolorum 515
 primitiae et tenero superati protinus angues.

490 prima γ c*: primam *Heinsius* 493 repetis *Maserius*: repetit γ c* 495 Aeetes *B-1498* c: aethes γ 499 carcere γ c*: cardine *Heinsius* 500 aethere *Burman*: aequore ω 502 aciemque *B-1498*: faciemque γ c* 503 refer *Reg B-1474* c: refertque γ moras *Burman*: nefas γ c*: (nefas) *Kramer* 506 aestusque ω: astusque *B-1498* 511 bellaue *Columbus*: belua γ (bellua [S]): bellua c*: proelia *ed. Ald.*: uolnera *Ellis 1880*: 55: sibila *Bury 1893*: 405: pabula *Frassinetti 1995*: 304-5 513 pulchro γ c*: pulso *Columbus*: puro *Wakefield*: tuto *Wagner dub. in comm.*: penso *Ellis 1880*: 55

debueram nullos iuueni iam quaerere casus
 uicta nec <ad> tales forsitan descendere pugnas.
 uerum animis insiste tuis actumque per omnem
 tende, pudor; mox et Furias Ditemque mouebo.' 520
 haec ait et pariter laeui iuga pinea montis
 respicit ac pulchro uenantes agmine nymphas,
 undarum nemorumque decus. leuis omnibus arcus
 et manicae uirides et stricta myrtus habena,
 summo palla genu, tenui uagus innatat unda 525
 crinis ad obscurae decurrens cingula mammae.
 ipsa citatarum tellus pede plausa sororum
 personat et teneris summittit gramina plantis.
 e quibus Herculeo Dryope percussa fragore,
 cum fugerent iam tela ferae, processerat ultra 530
 turbatum uisura nemus fontemque petebat
 rursus et attonitos referebat ab Hercule uultus.
 hanc delapsa polo piceaeque acclinis opacae
 Iuno uocat prensaue manu sic blanda profatur:
 'quem tibi coniugio tot dedignata dicaui, 535
 nympa, procos, en Haemonia puer adpulit alno,
 clarus Hylas, saltusque tuos fontesque pererrat.
 uidisti roseis haec per loca Bacchus habenis
 cum domitas acies et eoi fercula regni
 duceret ac rursus thiasos et sacra mouentem: 540
 hunc tibi uel posito uenantem pectine Phoebum
 crede dari. quae spes nymphis aufertur Achaeis,
 praereptum quanto proles Boebeia questu
 audiet et flauī quam tristis nata Lycormae!
 sic ait et celerem frondosa per auia ceruum 545
 suscitac ac iuueni sublimem cornibus offert.
 ille animos tardusque fugae longumque resistens

518 <ad> *Reg B-1474* c: om. γ 519 actumque per omnem C: actumque mouebo ω: astumque per omnem *Heinsius*: actumque ~ = *Courtney*: arcumque remissum *Delz 1976*: 99: casumque per omnem *Lieberman in app.* 520 -que mouebo X^{ae} C: quomodo uerbo LV: quoque uerbo [S] 524 habena *B-1498*: harena γ: auena c* 525 unda L c*: umbra L' α C c*: aura *Markland* 537 clarus V: carus *Baehrens* fontesque V: montesque *Baehrens* 539 fercula *Pius*: percula (pe(r *superscr.*)cula V: pericula [S]: percula L^{ae}: per loca L') γ: pocula C 543 Boebeia c*, *Pius*: baebeia γ

sollicitat suadetque pari contendere cursu.
 credit Hylas praedaeque ferox ardore propinque
 insequitur; simul Alcides hortatibus urget 550
 prospiciens. iamque ex oculis aufertur uterque,
 cum puerum instantem quadripes fessaque minantem
 tela manu procul ad nitidi spiracula fontis
 ducit et intactas leuis ipse superfugit undas.
 hoc pueri spes lusa modo est nec tendere certat 555
 amplius; utque artus et concita pectora sudor
 diluerat, gratos auidus procumbit ad amnes.
 stagna uaga sic luce micant ubi Cynthia caelo
 prospicit aut medii transit rota candida Phoebi,
 tale iubar diffundit aquis: nil umbra comaeque 560
 turbauitque sonus surgentis ad oscula nymphae.
 illa auidas iniecta manus heu sera cientem
 auxilia et magni referentem nomen amici
 detrahit, adiutae prono nam pondere uires.
 iam pater umbrosis Tirynthius arcibus ornum 565
 depulerat magnoque iugi stridore reuulsam
 terga super fului porrexerat horrida monstri
 litora curua petens; alio nam calle reuersum
 credit Hylan captaque dapes auxisse ferina.
 sed neque apud socios structasque in litore mensas 570
 unanimum uidet aeger Hylan nec longius acrem
 intendens aciem. uarios hinc excitat aestus
 nube mali percussus amor, quibus haeserit oris,
 quis tales impune moras casusue laborue
 attulerit. densam interea descendere noctem 575
 iam maiore metu; tum uero et pallor et amens
 cum piceo sudore rigor. ceu pectora nautis
 congelat hiberni uultus Iouis agricolisue,
 cum coit umbra minax, comitis sic afficit error
 Alciden saeuaeque monet meminisse nouercae. 580
 continuo, uolucris ceu pectora tactus asilo
 emicuit Calabris taurus per confraga saeptis

549 credit γ c*: cernit Wall 1984: 165: cedit Liberman 555 lusa V^e: (per)fusa
 ω 557 amnes B-1474 c: omnes γ 565 ornum Caussin: ornos γ c* 566 iugi γ
 C^a c*: iugis Morel 574 casusue laborue γ c*: casusne laborne Liberman post
 575 lacunam statuit Sudhaus

obuia quaeque ruens, tali se concitat ardens
 in iuga senta fuga. pauet omnis conscia late
 silua, pauent montes, luctu succensus acerbo 585
 quid struat Alcides tantaque quid apparet ira.
 ille, uelut refugi quem contigit improba Mauri
 lancea sanguineus uasto leo murmure fertur
 frangit et absentem uacuis sub dentibus hostem,
 sic furiis accensa gerens Tirynthius ora 590
 fertur et intento decurrit montibus arcu.
 heu miserae quibus ille ferae, quibus incidit usquam
 immeritis per lustra uiris! uolat ordine nullo
 cuncta petens: nunc ad ripas deiectaque saxis
 flumina, nunc notas nemorum procurrit ad umbras. 595
 rursus Hylan et rursus Hylan per longa reclamat
 auia: responsant siluae et uaga certat imago.
 at sociis immota fides austrisque secundis
 certa; morae nec paruus Hylas, quamquam omnibus aequae
 grata rudimenta: Herculeo sub nomine pendent. 600
 illum omnes lacrimis maestisque reposcere uotis
 incertique metu nunc longas litore uoces
 spargere, nunc seris ostendere noctibus ignes.
 ipse uel excelsi cum densa silentia montis
 strata uel oblatis ductor uidet aequora uentis, 605
 stat lacrimans magnoque uiri cunctatur amore.
 illius incessus habilemque ad terga pharetram,
 illum inter procures maestaeque silentia mensae
 quaerit inops quondam ingenti comprehensa trahentem
 uina manu et durae referentem monstra nouercae. 610
 nec minus interea crudelis iapyga Iuno
 assidue mouet et primis cum solibus offert.
 iamque morae impatiens cunctantes increpat ausus
 Tiphys et oblato monet otia rumpere cursu.
 ergo animum flexus dictis instantis Iason 615

592 ferae γ c*: feris Schmitz 595 nunc notas γ c*: nec notas Heinsius: nec motas
 Eysenhardt: nunc motas Schenkl: nunc totas Baehrens: nunc caecas Bury 1893: 405:
 nunc mutas Reuss 1899: 433: nunc nigras Koch 1863: 163 599 morae I. c*:
 moraes α (mores [S]): morast Eysenhardt: mora est Langen: moraest praeunte
 Madvigio (mora est) dub. Liberman in app. | secundis / cunctantur, nec... / gratus
 erat, mouet, Herculeo... Koch 613 ausus ω : ultro Koch: orsis Baehrens: orsus
 Postgate 1899: 101: unus Wall 1984: 165

concedit sociosque simul sic fatur ad omnes:
 'o utinam, Scythicis struerem cum funera terris,
 uox mihi mentitas tulerit Parnasia sortes,
 agmine de tanto socium qui maximus armis
 adforet, hunc Iouis imperiis fatoque teneri
 ante procellosum scopulis errantibus aequor!
 necdum fama uiri nec certior exstitit auctor.
 uerum agite et, dubiis uariant quia pectora curis,
 consulite et, motis seu uos uia flatibus urget,
 pergite et inceptos mecum reuocate labores;
 seu pluris tolerare moras rursusque propinquis
 quaesiuisse iugis, pretium haud leue temporis acti.'

dixerat. at studiis iamdudum freta iuuentus
 orat inire uias: unum tanto afore coetu
 nec minus in sese generis dextrasque potentes
 esse ferunt. tali mentem pars maxima flatu
 erigit et uana gliscunt praecordia lingua,
 saltibus ut mediis tum demum laeta reducit
 cerua gregem, tum gestit aper reboatque superbis
 comminus ursa lupis, cum sese Martia tigris
 abstulit aut curuo tacitus leo condidit antro.
 at pius ingenti Telamon iam fluctuat ira
 cum fremitu saeuisque furens periuria dictis
 insequitur magnoque implorat numina questu.
 idem orans prensatque uiros demissaque supplex
 haeret ad ora ducis, nil se super Hercule fari,
 sed socio quocumque, gemens, quamquam aspera fama
 iam loca iamque feras per barbara litora gentes,
 non alium contra Alciden, non pectora tanta
 posse dari. rursum instimulat ducitque fauentes
 magnanimus Calydone satus, potioribus ille
 deteriora fouens semperque inuersa tueri

623 uariant quia *Heinsius*: uariant (uariunt V) qui γ: quibus anxia C: uariant quis B-1498: uariant quae *Pomponius Laetus*: uariantia uel uariant quis *Lieberman dub. in comm.* 624 consulite B-1474 c: consulit γ 626 pluris *Burman*: plures γ c* 628 at *Burman*: et γ c* 635 † ursa † *Ehlers*: aula *fort. Delz 1976: 99* 638 furens C: ferens γ: serens V-1525 | periuria *Küstlin 1880: 425*: <=> iurgia (fera iurgia [S]) γ: in iurgia CL¹⁸: iniuria *Samuelsson* | serens iam iurgia *Baehrens* 640 prensatque B-1474 c: prensaque γ 646 pro moribus ille *Baehrens*: potior quibus ille *Eysenhardt*: potioria perosus *Koch*: potioribus idem *Küstlin 1880: 426*

durus et haud ullis umquam superabilis aequis
 rectorumue memor. 'non Herculis' inquit 'adempti,
 sed tuus in seros haec nostra silentia questus
 traxit honor, dum iura dares, dum tempora fandi.
 septimus hic celsis descendit montibus auster
 iamque ratem Scythicis forsitan statuisset in oris.
 nos patriae immemores, maneant ceu nulla reuectos
 gaudia, sed duro saeuae sub rege Mycenae,
 ad medium cunctamur iter. si finibus ullis
 has tolerare moras et inania tempora possem,
 regna hodie et dulcem sceptris Calydone tenerem
 laetus opum pacisque meae tutusque manerem
 quis genitor materque locis. quid deside terra
 haeremus, uacuos cur lassant aequora uisus?
 tu comitem Alciden ad Phasidis amplius arua
 adfore, tu socias ultra tibi rere pharetras?
 non ea fax odiis oblitaue numine fesso
 Iuno sui. noua Tartareo fors semine monstra
 atque iterum Inachiis iam nuntius urget ab Argis.
 non datur haec magni proles Iouis, at tibi Pollux
 stirpe pares Castorque manent, at cetera diuum
 progenies nec parua mihi fiducia gentis.
 en egomet quocumque uocas sequar, agmina ferro
 plura metam; tibi dicta manus, tibi quicquid in ipso
 sanguine erit, iamque hinc operum quae maxima posco.
 scilicet in solis profugi stetit Herculis armis
 nostra salus: nempe ora aequae mortalia cuncti
 ecce gerunt, ibant aequo nempe ordine remi.
 ille uel insano iamdudum turbidus aestu
 uel parta iam laude tumens consortia famae
 despicit ac nostris ferri comes abnuat actis.
 uos, quibus et uirtus et spes in limine primo,
 tendite, dum rerum patiens calor et rude membris
 robur inest; nec enim solis dare funera Colchis
 sit satis et tota pelagus lustrasse iuuenta.

655 saeuae B-1474 c: saeua γ 664 fax γ c*: pax *Heinsius* 670 en E Ha: et (ast [S]) γ: ast c* | egomet L c*: ego et α | † et ego et † *Kramer*: en ego te *Mozley* uocas sequar agmina *Jacobs* (agmina iam *Heinsius*): uoces qua tegmina γ c*: uoces sequar agmina *Courtney* 671 rupta *Baehrens*: prima *Schenkl* (cf. 1871: 86): pulsa *fort. Ellis 1908: 48, Howard*: dura *Bury* ipso γ c*: isto *Heinsius*

spes mihi quae tali potuit longissima casu
esse fuit: quiscumque uirum perquirere siluis
egit amor; loca uociferans non ulla reliqui.
nunc quoque, dum uario nutat sententia motu,
cernere deuexis redeuntem montibus opto.
sat lacrimis comitique datum, quem sortibus aeu
crede uel in mediae raptum tibi sanguine pugnae!’

talibus Oenides urget; simul incita dictis
heroum manus. ante omnes Argoa iubebat
uincla rapi Calais. furias miratur ouantum
Aeacides multusque uiri cunctantia corda
fert dolor, an sese comitem tam tristibus actis
abneget et celsi maerens petat ardua montis.
non tamen et gemitus et inanes desinit iras
fundere. ‘quis terris, pro Iuppiter’, inquit ‘Achaeis
iste dies! saeui capient quae gaudia Colchi!
non hi tum flatus, non ista superbia dictis,
litore cum patrio, iam uela petentibus austris,
cunctus ad Alciden uersus fauor: ipse iuuaret,
ipse ducis curas meritosque subiret honores.
iamne animis, iam gente pares? aequae inclita uulgi
dextera? nulla fides, nulli super Hercule fletus?
nunc Porthaonides, nunc dux mihi Thracia proles?
aspera nunc pauidos contra ruit agna leones?
hanc ego magnanimi spoliū Didymaonis hastam,
quae neque iam frondes uirides nec proferet umbras,
ut semel est euulsa iugis ac matre perempta
fida ministeria et duras obit horrida pugnas,
testor et hoc omni, ductor, tibi numine firmo:
saepe metu, saepe in tenui discrimine rerum
Herculeas iam serus opes spretique uocabis
arma uiri nec nos tumida haec tum dicta iuuabunt.’
talibus Aeacides socios terroribus urgens
illacrimat multaue comas deformat harena.

fata trahunt raptusque uirum certamine ductor
ibat et obtenta mulcebat lumina palla.
hic uero ingenti repetuntur pectora luctu,

ut socii sedere locis nullaeque leonis
exuuiæ tantique uacant uestigia transtri.
flet pius Aeacides, maerent Poeantia corda,
ingemit et dulci frater cum Castore Pollux.
omnis adhuc uocat Alciden fugiente carina,
omnis Hylan: medio pereunt iam nomina ponto.
dat procul interea toto pater aequore signum
Phorcys et immanes intorto murice phocas
contrahit antra petens; simul et Massylus et una
Lyctius et Calabris redit armentarius aruis.
ilicet extremi nox litore solis Hiberas
condidit alta domos et sidera sustulit axis.
flumina conticuere, iacet cum flatibus aequor.
Amphitryoniades nec quae noua lustra requirat
nec quo temptet iter comitis nec fata parenti
quae referat, uidet, aut socios qua mente reuisat.
urit amor solisque negat decedere siluis.
non aliter gemitu quondam lea proles ademptae
terga dedit: sedet inde uiis inclusaque longo
peruigilant castella metu; dolor attrahit orbes
interea et misero manat iuba sordida luctu.

725 pereunt iam *Ehlers* : pereuntia γc^* 732 flumina γ : flamina
C 733 Amphitryonidas *F-1481 c* : ampythronidas *L. V* : amphytrionidas Π :
amphitryoniades *O Q Mal X* 736 solisque γc^* : solusque *Reuss* 738 orba
dedit (gemitus) *Burman* : signa legit *Thilo* : signa dedit *Löblich* 1869: 8: (gemitum)
aegra dedit *Heinsius* : aegra redit *Baehrens* : (gemitum) certa dedit *Frassinetti*
1995: 305

690 Oenides *B-1474 c* : Oenides γ (eonides α) | Oenidae surgit *Postgate* 1900:
258 703 aequae *Vossius* : atque γc^* 715 terroribus γ : sermonibus *C*

COMMENTARY

I. CYZICUS EPISODE (1-461)

The Argonauts' stay on Cyzicus is a traditional element of the myth and narrated also in AR (1.936-1152) and other sources (e.g. *AO* 490-628). In VF only the king is referred to by the name Cyzicus (2.629-36); other ancient authors confirm that the whole country bore the name Cyzicus (e.g. AR 1.1076, *Ov. Tr.* 1.10.29-30) and was (formerly) called Arctonnesus (Plin. *HN* 5.142). In historical times Cyzicus was a peninsula (perhaps originally an island), located in the Propontis in Asia Minor (on its geography see Marquardt 1836, Hasluck 1910, Delage 1930: 92-113), modern Kapu Dag. Cyzicus (like other places in the vicinity) was an important centre for the cult of Cybele (on this goddess see e.g. Schwenn 1922; on differences between Greek and Roman versions of the cult see Summer 1996; on the Cybele cult in Augustan Rome see Becher 1991), as attested by literary, archaeological and numismatic sources (see e.g. Hdt. 4.76, Strab. 12.8.11; see Graillot 1912: 372-7, Schwenn 1922: 2287, Ruge 1924: 232-3, Vermaseren 1987: 91-7). The Argonautic voyage must have been traditionally associated with the cult, since the Argonauts were said to have founded the local temple (Strab. 12.8.11).

VF's Cyzicus episode (sometimes seen as a kind of epyllion: see Runchina 1982: 29-30) covers the end of the second and just over the first half of the third book (2.627-64, 3.1-461; see Intro. 2.3, 3.1, 3.2). At the end of the second book the Argonauts arrive at Cyzicus, and the eponymous king receives them hospitably (2.627-64). At the beginning of book 3 the Argonauts take leave of their hosts (3.1-13). After an address to the Muse (14-18), a flashback reveals that the goddess Cybele, looking for a convenient occasion for revenge on Cyzicus, who has killed one of her lions and displayed the spoils at his front door, identifies a good opportunity (19-31). Divine intervention causes the Argo to return to Cyzicus during the night (32-42). A battle between the former hosts and their guests ensues, during which many of the inhabitants of Cyzicus die and Jason kills king Cyzicus (43-248). Then Jupiter ends the fighting; in the morning the Argonauts realize with horror what has happened (249-72). They bury the dead; Jason and Cyzicus' wife Clite deliver 'funeral speeches' (274-361). Because of their feelings of unease, the Argonauts cannot continue their journey until the seer Mopsus explains their predicament and carries out a purification and atonement ritual (362-458); thereafter they leave quickly (459-61).

The key elements are the same as in AR, but VF's episode is more than twice as long and has a different focus (for a comparative table see Garson 1964: 267-8, also Shey 1968: 86, Sauer 2011: 151-7): in AR there is no divine motivation (only references to oracles); a wind blows the Argonauts back to Cyzicus (1.1016-18; also Hyg. *Fab.* 16.1, Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.9.18; in *AO* Tiphys falls asleep at the Argonauts' second departure, 536-55); Cyzicus is killed at the beginning of the battle (1.1030-9), which is much shorter (1.1026-52); there are fewer direct speeches, no exclamations by the narrator and less emphasis on the emotions of the participants. AR presents various aetiological details and includes a battle with earth-born men during the Argonauts' first stay (1.989-1011), omitted by VF (see e.g. Adamietz 1976a: 42-3); he conveys a fairly clear idea of the topography and the movements of the characters (see e.g. Fitch 1912, Vian 1978). In both epics the Argonauts and the people of Cyzicus fight against each other without recognizing their opponents (cf. also Hyg. *Fab.* 16), whereas according to other authors the inhabitants of Cyzicus attacked the Argonauts at night because of hatred (cf. Σ AR 1.1037-8 b [Callisthenes, *FCrH* / *BNJ* 124 F6], also *AO* 512-25, where a battle against earth-born men and nocturnal fighting are combined; on VF and *AO* see Rovira Soler 1978: esp. 198-200).

While AR has provided the outline for VF's version, Virgil's *Aeneid* has inspired its tone and motifs: the sequence of a friendly welcome for a band of sailors by the ruler of a foreign kingdom, including a banquet and an exchange of gifts, followed by the death of the host, caused by the leader of the guests, recalls the encounter between Aeneas and Dido (Virg. *Aen.* 1, 4), and the meeting of Aeneas and Euander with the subsequent death of Pallas (Virg. *Aen.* 8, 10, 11). The night-time battle evokes the nocturnal fighting in Troy narrated in *Aeneid* 2 (with Priam's death at the end), and there are allusions to the battles in Italy in the *Aeneid*'s second half. Clite's grief at the death of her husband is similar to that of Euryalus' mother in *Aeneid* 9 (9.473-502). The purification and atonement ritual, along with Mopsus' preceding explanations, is reminiscent of Aeneas' visit to the underworld and Anchises' speech in *Aeneid* 6 (see e.g. Garson 1964: 270-1).

The structure of the Cyzicus episode may be compared to a tragedy (e.g. Happle 1957: 114, Garson 1964: 268-9, Sauer 2011: 183): an introductory 'prologue' leads into a description of how the hero commits a terrible deed unwillingly, followed by *anagnorisis* (recognition) and *peripeteia* (reversal) roughly at the same time (see Arist. *Poet.* ch. 11); then a resolution for the protagonists is found. The sequence in which someone comes ashore and inadvertently kills a close acquaintance has also been compared with the tragic situation of Telegonus' killing his father Odysseus involuntarily (Happle 1957: 114-16).

In VF's version the events on Cyzicus are a prelude to what will happen in Colchis (see Schenk 1991, 1999 *passim*, Fucecchi 1996: 119–22; contrast Dinter 2009: 538). By outlining the geographical setting when the Argonauts approach Cyzicus (esp. 2.613–20, 627–33), VF stresses that they have just passed from Europe to Asia; the inhabitants of Cyzicus are thus the first Asian people they encounter. The subsequent fight agrees with Jupiter's plan of the world (1.531–60), namely that the Argonautic voyage will open the seas for Bellona to enable battles and this will cause a transition of power from Asia to Greece (see Intro. 2.4). The battle on Cyzicus does not entail this consequence; it rather foreshadows the fighting between different groups in Colchis (added by VF) as well as future battles between peoples from Asia and Europe, as envisaged at the final confrontation between the Argonauts and the pursuing Colchians (8.395–9).

For the battle on Cyzicus it is emphasized in VF (in contrast to AR) that the two parties are hosts and guests (see Bernstein 2008: 52). Upon the Argonauts' arrival VF has king Cyzicus claim that the two peoples share similar behaviour and values (2.646–8), while he stresses that this is their first encounter and the regions of the east have now become accessible (2.639–43). Thereby the aspects of both 'civil war' and fighting between different countries according to the plan of the world are activated. Such battle descriptions will have resonated with contemporary readers owing to the recent experience of a civil war. However, there is no suggestion that VF sees civil war as ultimately leading to a positive future (thus Stover 2012b *passim*).

VF's Cyzicus episode addresses the question of the extent and nature of human guilt, depending on whether deeds have been committed with the doer's full awareness or unwittingly and (in epic terms) under divine influence. In both cases people may be regarded as guilty objectively (while they may be seen as innocent if the deeds were not committed on purpose); but their subjective feelings may be different. When Cyzicus kills a lion of Cybele in the prehistory (19–31), he is carried away in his hunting and keen to obtain booty, but he cannot be sure that the lion roaming freely is one of Cybele's lions, even though he is hunting on Dindymus. Nevertheless, because Cyzicus has killed one of her lions, Cybele punishes him. After the Argonauts have realized that they have slain many of the inhabitants of Cyzicus, they are paralysed by their own conscience. The seer Mopsus then explains the difference between people who are guilty of having killed consciously and those who have done so unwittingly (377–416). This episode thereby gives the most comprehensive presentation of such questions, relevant again with regard to Medea in the poem's second half (see also Intro. 2.5, 3.2).

Bibliography (in addition to commentaries and annotated translations): Happle 1957: 79–134, Garson 1964, Shey 1968: 83–91, Burck (1970) 1981 (on Cyzicus' fighting and death), 1981: 455–9 (on the funeral scene), Lüthje 1971: 92–113, Shelton 1971: 111–49, Raabe 1974: 176–7 (on structure), Adamietz 1976a: 42–6, Eigler 1988: 48–58 (on the 'funeral speeches'), Schenk 1991, 1999 *passim*, Fucecchi 1996: 119–22, McGuire 1997: 108–12 (on the battle scene), Timonen 1998: 165–8, Manuwald 1999, Groß 2003: 184–97 (on the role of prophecies and prodigies), Radová 2003: 40–2, MacIntyre 2008: 111–20 (on the role of landscape), Sauer 2011: 133–95 (on narrative technique), Stover 2012b: 113–50, 170–8, Walter 2014: 42–51, 88–93. On the episode in AR see e.g. Levin 1971: 87–109 (on structure), Clauss 1993: 148–75 (on models and narrative structure), Knight 1995: 84–93 (on relationship to Homer).

A. *Departure of the Argonauts after the first (friendly) encounter (1–13)*

Book 3 begins with the morning of the third day of the Argonauts' first stay on Cyzicus (on this section see Schenk 1999: 78–83, 138–43 *passim*), when the two parties take leave from each other, exchange gifts and pledge friendship (cf. also *AO* 507–9). The emphasis on the affectionate farewell highlights the original nature of their relationship and prepares for the subsequent violent clash.

While AR reports the Argonauts' departure (1.1012–14), VF has added this scene reminiscent of Dido and Aeneas in Virgil's *Aeneid* 1 and 4 (see 1–461n.). The exchange of gifts between the protagonist departing by sea and the couple who hosted him also recalls Helenus' and Andromache's taking leave of Anchises and his crew (Virg. *Aen.* 3.464–91). Within VF's epic there is a link to the Argonauts' departure from Lemnos, where queen Hypsipyle gives Jason a woven garment (see 340–2n.) and a weapon from her father as farewell gifts (2.400–25).

1–2 *tertia* ... | ... *polum*: a poetic periphrasis for the start of a new day (cf. e.g. Hom. *Il.* 1.477, 6.175, *Od.* 2.1, Virg. *Aen.* 8.591, 11.210, Luc. 1.261, Stat. *Theb.* 10.390). 'Three' has its literal meaning (in inclusive counting) rather than indicating a small number (see Zissos on 1.283–5): the Argonauts have spent the day of their arrival and the subsequent day in friendly conversation (2.663–4). In AR the Argonauts seem to leave in the course of the second day (1.985, 1012–14). For the beginning of a new book with a new day cf. 5.1 *altera lux* (see Intro. 3.1). The structure has a precedent in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*: book 7 concludes with talk at a dinner party for guests; book 8 starts with a new day, winds encouraging departure and the arrival at a port, followed by military confrontation (see Gärtner 2009: 265–6). Starting the third book with *tertia* may also have a

metaliterary element. **iam:** frequently marks a transition within a fast-moving narrative, especially in connection with a verb in the pluperfect (cf. also 481, 565). **Tithonia** 'wife of Tithonus' (supply *coniunx*), i.e. Aurora ('Dawn'). Metonymical descriptions of sunrise (with antonomasia) are frequent. They are less common with an adjective on its own (only at 1.311 *alma nouo crispans pelagus Tithonia Phoebo*, Ov. *Fast.* 4.943, Stat. *Theb.* 6.25-6, 12.3-4) and typically include a noun (e.g. Ov. *Her.* 18.111, *Fast.* 3.403 *Tithonia coniunx*). **exueratque polum** 'she had laid bare the sky'. Statius uses VF's metaphor of '(un)clothing' for the same (*Ach.* 2.1-2; *OLD* *exuo* 2b) and the opposite process (*Theb.* 5.753 *caeloque cauiam nox induit umbram*).

2 Tiphyn: Tiphys, the helmsman of the Argo (cf. esp. 1.418-19, 481-3, with Zissos *ad loc.*, 5.14-15), is singled out as the person on whom the good sailing conditions have an impact. This builds up a contrast to what follows, when he, while on duty, is made to fall asleep by divine influence (37-42). **uocabant:** elsewhere winds 'call' the crew to set off (2.372, 4.344, Virg. *Aen.* 3.356-7); here it is the 'calm sea': safe and uneventful sailing is to be expected.

3 it tectis ... manus: a similar phrase in Virgil's *Aeneid* (4.130 *it portis ... delecta iuuentus*) occurs just before the hunt of Dido and Aeneas, which will lead to disaster for their peoples. *tectis* (like *urbe*) is an ablative of the place whence, without a preposition, as is common in poetry (see Woodcock §42.2). **Argo manus** 'the crew of the Argo', 'the Argonauts' (*Argous*: an adjective derived from *Argo*).

4 Aenidae: in its generally accepted emended form, this is a patronymic meaning 'sons of Aeneas', i.e. of Cyzicus' father (AR 1.948, 1035-6; cf. Σ AR 1.936-49 p, *AO* 503, 523). The father is not mentioned in VF (confusion about Cyzicus' descent in Hyg. *Fab.* 16.1), but learned readers would be aware of Cyzicus' lineage. The term has been transferred from the king, the actual son, to the entire people, perhaps inspired by *Aeneadae* applied to the nation descending from Aeneas (e.g. Lucr. 1.1, Virg. *Aen.* 8.648). In contrast to AR (1.947, 952, 961, 1018, 1022, 1029, 1058, 1070), VF does not use the term *Doliones* (the name of a Thracian people in the area of Cyzicus) for the inhabitants of Cyzicus; he only refers to Cyzicus as *Dolionii ... regis* at 5.7 (see also Venini 1971a: 584). **caris socium digressibus haerent** 'they cling to the departing steps of their dear companions': a vivid expression of the physical and emotional intensity of the farewell. *caris* is a transferred epithet; *socium* (also 6.369, 388) is the original and (later) poetic form of the genitive plural of second-declension nouns (see Zissos on 1.1, Contino 1973: 18 and n. 3). *haerent* governs an abstract noun (cf. 5.344 *gressibus haerens*); the form *digressibus* is attested in Latin only here.

5 Cererem ... pecus ... Bacchum: farewell gifts from the people of Cyzicus. Two items are described by metonymy (on this form of *denominatio* see Zissos on 1.253-4). For the combination of Ceres and Bacchus cf. Virg. *Aen.* 8.180-1; for wine as a farewell gift cf. Virg. *Aen.* 1.195-6.

5-7 nec palmite ... | ... Helles: the Argonauts are not given a local (*nec* ≈ *et ... non*) but a special type of wine, as *lectum ... pecus* is something special too (cf. Luc. 10.161-3). The reference to the regions of Bithynia and Phrygia indicates produce from nearby areas (cf. 2.633, 3.19, 22, AR 1.937). The wine chosen is from Lesbos, regarded as being of particular quality (cf. Virg. *G.* 2.89-90, Hor. *Carm.* 1.17.21-2, Prop. 4.8.38, Plin. *HN* 14.73; see Büchner 1925: 2118-19). This wine is envisaged as having been transported to Cyzicus via the Hellespont (for the Hellespont as a route to Cyzicus see 2.584-612): seafaring on a local level is assumed to have existed before the Argonautic voyage opens up the seas (cf. also 2.108-11, 285-7, 292, 300, 658, 661). **palmite Bacchum | Bithyno Phrygioue satum:** Bacchus (i.e. the wine) is metonymically described as 'sprung' from (*satus* + ablative of origin) a particular 'vine' (collective singular). **sua ... | ... Lesbos:** because of the wine it produces and the established cult (see Preller 1894: 678-9, 693), Lesbos is regarded as Bacchus' 'own'. *Bacchus* is no longer a mere metonymical term, but also refers to the god of wine. **noto | colle:** sloping vineyards (collective singular), producing the well-known wine (transferred epithet) or 'known' to Bacchus reinforcing *sua*. **sugerit** 'supplies' (*OLD* 3a).

8-9 ipse ... | Cyzicus: the personal name and the addition of *ipse* (repeated at 12), positioned at the beginning of two successive lines in a wide hyperbaton, underline the role of king Cyzicus.

8 agit ... iunctos ... gressus: *agere gressus* is a rare paraphrase for 'walk', 'direct one's steps' (*OLD* ago 3; similarly 441 *ter tacitos egere gradus*, 8.131 *praecipites agit ille gradus*). *iunctos* indicates that the two men walk side by side, with emphasis on the subject in the singular (cf. 4.176 *coniungere gressus*); it governs the dative *Aesonidae* (see G-L §359). **Aesonidae:** frequent patronymic: 'son of Aeson', i.e. Jason (cf. 1.149, 294-349, 693-850; see also 240n.).

9/25/10: in all manuscripts except *C'* a line has been misplaced (the line transmitted as 25 should follow 9), and the second half of verse 9 repeats the ending of 25 in garbled fashion. The correct order is obvious, and the transposition has been accepted since the earliest editions. While the sense is evident, the wording of line 9 has not yet been satisfactorily emended. Therefore the construction to which *muneribus* belongs is not entirely clear: the corrupt section probably hides another participle

(parallel to *lacrimans*) or a finite verb governing *muneribus. uestes*, specifying an item of the *munera*, has been attracted into the relative clause.

25 primas: the adjective (with *uestes*) is used predicatively (with adverbial force) and taken up by *tum* (11) in an irregular sequence. **coniunx Percosia:** a periphrasis for the person whose name follows in the next line (see Kleywegt 1986: 2462): Clite, Cyzicus' wife. Clite's background is not explained at this point; some details are supplied later (314–31; see 320n.), where they have greater effect (see Burck (1970) 1981: 542, Venini 1971a: 589–90). AR defines Cyzicus' wife as 'the offspring of Percosian Merops' (1.975; see also Σ AR 1.974–6 a), in contrast to other traditions. The adjective *Percosia* (unique in Latin) denotes a person from Percote, a town situated on the Asian shore of the Hellespont (see Ruge 1937), mentioned by VF shortly before the Argonauts reach Cyzicus (2.621).

25–10 uestes | ... **auro:** the garments are 'embroidered' with gold (and thus coloured; cf. 340 *pictas auro atque ardentis murice uestes*). The details recall similar descriptions of gifts made by a queen, particularly those of Dido in Virgil's *Aeneid* (4.263–4 *diues quae munera Dido | fecerat, et tenui telas discreuerat auro*, 11.74–5 *ipsa suis quondam manibus Sidonia Dido | fecerat et tenui telas discreuerat auro*; cf. also Virg. *Aen.* 3.483, Luc. 2.357). VF takes up Virgil's two-part relative clause and the qualification of *munera* as embroidered garments; the adjective defining *auro* is turned from a proper epithet in Virgil into an epithet transferred from *vestes* in VF (*picto*). **dabat:** the imperfect describes Clite's action as a process; this is followed by Cyzicus' presentation of gifts, of which the result is mentioned (12 *addidit*). An indirect object of *dabat* is not expressed (perhaps mentioned at the end of line 9): Clite may have given these garments directly to Jason or to Cyzicus first.

11 patriae telum insuperabile dextrae: *telum insuperabile* (a unique collocation) highlights the special quality of the weapon of Cyzicus' father; the paraphrastic genitive *patriae* ... *dextrae* (instead of *patris*) emphasizes the use of this weapon. That Cyzicus presents Jason with such a treasured item underlines the intensity of their friendship; besides, Cyzicus does not have offspring to whom he could pass on such family possessions (343–6; cf. also Virg. *Aen.* 3.484–91). Cyzicus' giving a weapon to Jason may foreshadow his death in battle at the latter's hands (239–41), but there is no indication that Cyzicus is killed by this weapon (see Schenk 1999: 80–1). In Virgil's *Aeneid* a sceptre from Troy is presented to Dido and to Latinus (1.653–4, 7.246–8), equally an emblem of power no longer of real use.

12 ipse: i.e. Cyzicus (cf. 8), who in turn receives gifts from Jason. The exchange of gifts, including weapons, recalls Diomedes and Glaucus

(and their ancestors) at Hom. *Il.* 6.216–36. **ducis pateras:** at the beginning of the voyage Jason uses a *patera* from his father (1.660–1). If this *patera* is included in those mentioned here, Jason, like Cyzicus, would offer a paternal item of special value.

12–13 Thessala ... | **frena:** the bridle could be defined as 'Thessalian' since in VF this term frequently denotes the Argonauts (because Iolcos, the starting point of their journey, is in Thessaly). This attribute could also have a generic meaning because it often occurs as a poetic epithet of 'bridle', since the Lapiths, a semi-mythical people originally located in Thessaly (with the eponymous ancestor Lapithes), were said to have been the first to use it (see e.g. 1.424, 7.604–6, Virg. *G.* 3.115–16, Luc. 6.396–9). This need not imply an allusion to the battle between Centaurs and Lapiths (but see Newman 1986: 224).

13 manibusque datis iunxere penates 'and with their hands clasped, they united their household gods', i.e. 'they confirmed their close relationship as hosts and guests'. The scene closes with renewed emphasis on the unanimity of the two parties: this endows the subsequent fighting with the character of a civil war (see also Bernstein 2008: 52). This confirmation of friendship contrasts with the abuse of hospitality and its characteristic gestures by king Aeetes in Colchis (6.12–13 *quos malus hospitio iunctaque ad foedera dextra | luserit Aeetes atque in sua traxerit arma*). **penates:** a widely accepted conjecture (for *nepotes*) by Gronovius (Sauer 2011: 135 and n. 599 keeps *nepotes*). Although the phrase *penates iungere* is not attested elsewhere, the inferred meaning fits the context (cf. also 17). The introduction of a Roman term in metaphorical sense into a mythical epic is not a problem.

B. Address to the Muse (14–18)

Between the happy conclusion of the Argonauts' first stay on Cyzicus and the disastrous events unfolding at their second visit, the poet inserts a short address to the Muse. Like the departure scene, this passage has no counterpart in AR and seems to be inspired by Virgil. Elsewhere too, VF, like Virgil (*Aen.* 7.37–45, 9.525–8, 12.500–4), marks the onset of terrible events by addresses to the Muses or other personal remarks (2.216–19, 3.212–19, 5.217–23, 6.33–41, 515–16, 8.259–60; on addresses to Muses in VF see Schenk 1999: 169–74, 290–8, Effe 2004: 74–5). Here, he particularly alludes to the first and last appeal to the Muses in the *Aeneid*.

While this address to the Muse is based on the conventional plea for help with narrating major events, the poet specifically wishes to learn the reasons for such a horrible battle between groups joined in hospitality. This focus provides a smooth transition to the following section on the

background (19–31 with n.). It is supported by the resemblance to the question about the identity of the god responsible, addressed to the Muses, in Virgil's *Aeneid* (9.77–8), where it introduces a flashback narrative involving Cybele. The poet's search for the causes is also reminiscent of the proem to the *Aeneid* (1.8–11, esp. 1.8 *Musa, mihi causas memora*; cf. also 7.41, 10.163). There it is a request for further details, since at this point it is already clear that Juno's continuing wrath has caused Aeneas' travels (1.4; see 27n.), whereas VF's narrator enquires more broadly after Jupiter's motivation.

The address to the Muse in VF provokes the fundamental question of how Jupiter, the supreme god and protector of hospitality (16–18 with n.), could allow this to happen: while the active responsibility for setting things in motion is attributed to the Erinys, the enquiry after the causes is referred to Jupiter (see Hardie 1993a: 87). In Virgil's *Aeneid* the poet expresses amazement at pointless wars seemingly authorized by Jupiter in connection with an appeal for inspiration (12.500–4); in VF the issue is expressed more urgently (see Intro. 2.5).

Terms such as *proelia* (14) and *arma* (17) indicate that an epic battle narrative will follow (cf. Virg. *Ecl.* 6.3 *cum canerem reges et proelia*, *Aen.* 1.1 *arma uirumque cano*); the qualifications *infanda ... proelia* (14) and *talia ... | arma* (16–17) foreshadow the battle's disastrous character (cf. Luc. 1.21; see Río Torres-Murciano 2007: 83–4, Stover 2012b: 124, Walter 2014: 44–5).

14 Clio: one of the Muses, who was associated with the presentation of heroic deeds (cf. Hor. *Carm.* 1.12.1–3, Stat. *Theb.* 1.41) and from post-Augustan times onwards came to be seen as the Muse of History (cf. Stat. *Theb.* 10.630). Therefore the selection of this Muse contributes to the focus on a past event and its reasons (see also Schenk 1999: 170).

15 uirum: genitive plural, depending on *proelia* (14). *superum* is also genitive plural (see 4n.).

15–16 tibi ... | ... uias: the Muse knows 'the minds of the gods and the ways of things', i.e. may be able to shed light on the (supernatural) reasons behind this battle. Muses are often addressed as goddesses whose knowledge transcends that of the poet (e.g. Hom. *Il.* 2.484–92, Hes. *Theog.* 36–9, Theoc. *Id.* 22.116–17). **uirgo:** another address to the Muse Clio (for the Muses as *uirgines* see e.g. Catull. 65.1–4).

16–18 cur ... | ... quid: a variation of the question word and a change from direct accusative object to infinitive phrase, both depending on *passus* (*est*). **arma** 'battle', in metonymy (*OLD* 6). **hospitiis iunctas ... dextras:** this phrase, first used in epic by Virgil, illustrates a close relationship between people linked by hospitality (e.g. Virg. *Aen.* 3.83 *iungimus*

hospilio dextras, 11.164–5 *quas | iunximus hospilio dextras*, Stat. *Theb.* 3.698–9), taking up *manibusque datis iunxere penates* (13). The expression is poignant since in the subsequent fighting the men's 'right hands' will have a different function (cf. 268, 269 with nn.). The opposition is more drastic than in Virgil's *Aeneid* 11, where Euander says that he does not blame 'the right hands that we clasped in ties of hospitality' for the death of his son Pallas (11.164–5), when these hands have not actually killed Pallas. The Virgilian scene will be a foil for the reaction to Cyzicus' death (see 274–361n.). **Iuppiter:** invoked as the ruler of destiny and the god responsible for hospitality (cf. Hom. *Od.* 9.270–1, Virg. *Aen.* 1.731), contrasting with what he allows to happen on Cyzicus (see Burck (1970) 1981: 556, Schubert 1984: 269, Groß 2003: 184–5, Bernstein 2008: 52).

18 unde ... Erinys? 'Whence did the war clarions and the Erinys set the nocturnal events in motion?' *mouit* could be transitive (with *nocturna* its object and Erinys its subject) or intransitive (with *nocturna ... Erinys* its subject; cf. 4.617 *fraternaque surgit Erinys*). The former is more likely, since active *mouere* is rare in intransitive-reflexive sense (hence Samuelsson 1899: 113–14 suspects an elliptical phrase), while transitive *mouere* is attested in similar contexts (cf. Stat. *Theb.* 11.619 *furor illa et mouit Erinys*, Silv. 5.3.195–7 *civilis Erinys | Tarpeio de monte facem Phlegraeaeque mouit | proelia*). Further, a verb needs to be supplied with *unde tubae* (cf. 43–4): either *mouerunt* or something like *exstiterunt* or *ortae sunt* (thus Dräger, White 2007: 255–6, who sees *tubae* also functioning as object of *nocturna ... mouit Erinys*). The first option seems the most natural; the phrase then combines the starting point and the moving force behind it. Gärtner (2010: 215) clarifies by emendation: *unde tubae? nocturnae mouit* (sc. *tubae*) *Erinys?* This moves the focus from a question after the reason to one after the author, but the following section (19–31) answers the former. **Erinys:** a generalizing singular (on number and names of the Erinyes/Eumenides see Wüst 1956: 122–4) or perhaps an allusion to the Erinys Tisiphone, mentioned later in the battle description (214 with n.) as a representative Fury (cf. 6.402–3 *saeuissima ... | Tisiphone*, Lucil. 169–70 *M. Tisiphone ... | ... Eumenidum sanctissima Erinys*). The emphasis seems to be on a personified Erinys, but the word also conveys the connotations of frenzy and fury of war (*OLD* 1, 2; see also Herschkowitz 1998b: 56). In post-Augustan style (see Roscher 1886–90: 1562) VF uses both the Greek terms Erinyes/Eumenides and the Latin word Furiae (e.g. 217, 228, 520; on Furiae in VF see Thuile 1980: 49–117).

C. Background to the current situation (19–31)

In an answer to the question after the causes (14–18), this section provides the background for readers by means of a flashback, as elsewhere in VF

(unlike in AR); of the characters only Cyzicus gets a glimpse of the reasons for his fate just before he dies (237–8): Cyzicus has offended Cybele by killing one of her lions, when it was roaming freely, and then displaying the spoils (19–26). As soon as Cybele sees the Argo (like Juno; see 487–8 with nn.), she recognizes a good moment for her revenge (27–31).

When Cyzicus kills the lion, he is described as keenly hunting, and the poet's presentation suggests that it was not obvious at the time that the lion was Cybele's (see Ferenczi 1995: 150, 151). Therefore Cyzicus could only be fairly accused of giving in to passions (in contrast to a Stoic sage) and of unwary pride in his achievements. Still, a number of scholars believe that Cyzicus acted with *hybris*, was blinded and/or showed disregard for the goddess (see e.g. Happle 1957: 106, Garson 1964: 269, Burck (1970) 1981: 542, but see 556, Lüthje 1971: 93, 94, Schenk 1991: 139, 141, 149, 150, Scaffai 1997: 48, Hershkowitz 1998a: 172–5, Timonen 1998: 167, Baier 2001: 99–100, Groß 2003: 184–5, Sauer 2011: 136, 143 n. 635, 165, Stover 2012b: 127–33; see Intro. 2.5; 1–461n.).

The goddess Cybele is referred to by allusion and periphrasis; her name occurs in VF only once (8.240) in a simile. In AR Cybele appears at the end of the Cyzicus episode (1.1092–151), when she has to be propitiated to enable the Argonauts' final departure; they offer sacrifices and introduce new elements of the cult (see e.g. Adamietz 1976a: 43, Scaffai 1997: 48; on AR's description of the cult and its potential political implications see van Krevelen 1954). Only VF gives Cybele a fundamental role as the prime mover for the second (deadly) encounter between the Argonauts and the locals (see also Adamietz 1976a: 43, Scaffai 1997: 48–51). The idea of an annoyed Cybele implied in AR and Cybele's existing association with Cyzicus (see 1–461n.) will have been VF's starting points. If he had the office of a *quindecimuir sacris faciundis* (see Intro. 1), the fact that this college of priests oversaw the cult of Cybele in Rome might have been another motivation (cf. Luc. 1.599–600, Stat. *Silu.* 1.2.176–7; see Graillot 1912: 227–30, Wissowa 1912: 319–21, 542–3, Boyancé (1964) 1972, Liberman 1997: 77 and n. 1, Scaffai 1997: 50).

Cyzicus' fate is a particular version of the motif of killing an animal with disastrous consequences (for its development in Roman epic see Franchet d'Espèrey 1977): the inadvertent killing of an animal leading to a full-scale battle mirrors the start of the confrontation in Latium in Virgil's *Aeneid*, when Ascanius wounds a tame stag (7.475–539). He too acts in the heat of the hunt (esp. 7.496) and is ignorant about the ownership of the animal; the goddess Juno causes this deed and the immediately ensuing battle. However, the stag is not a sacred animal whose fate motivates divine revenge, and the hunter does not perish in the battle. The motif of an eager hunt with dire consequences appears again in VF's book 3, when Hylas is tempted to pursue a stag as a result of Juno's intervention

(545–57). There the object is not killed, but as in *Aeneid* 7 (and in contrast to Cyzicus) gods prompt the hunter to focus on the animal (see 481–740, 521–64nn.). The shape of the motif in VF's Cyzicus episode is reminiscent of Agamemnon's killing a stag in the sacred grove of Artemis as narrated in Sophocles: in anger, the goddess detained the Greek fleet on its way to Troy at Aulis, so that Agamemnon was forced to sacrifice his daughter to resolve the situation. In contrast to Cyzicus in VF, Sophocles has Agamemnon make a boastful remark when killing the animal and thereby actively offend the goddess (Soph. *El.* 566–76). Statius takes up the motif with the killing of tigers of Bacchus: tame tigers are made to run wild by a Fury and attack people; nevertheless, the person responsible for their death is immediately slaughtered by a follower of Bacchus (*Theb.* 7.564–607).

That a human character out hunting inadvertently offends a goddess and is severely punished recalls Actaeon in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*: he happens to see the goddess Diana naked; therefore he is turned into a stag and killed by his own hunting dogs (3.138–252). Actaeon's fate is ascribed to *fortuna* and *error* rather than *scelus* (3.141–2).

A story about someone focused on successfully gaining spoils from someone associated with the gods (though not an animal) and being subsequently killed is reminiscent of Camilla in Virgil's *Aeneid*: during the fighting in Latium Camilla pursues Chloereus, sacred to Cybele and a former priest, who, along with his horse, is decked out elaborately in outlandish fashion (11.768–77), because she is eager for booty (11.782); Camilla will be killed soon afterwards, though not because of revenge taken by Cybele (11.778–831).

19–21 Dindyma ... | ... | Cyzicus: *Cyzicus* is the subject of both the subordinate and the main clauses; the name is placed at the transition at the beginning of a line. The postponement of the conjunction *dum* (20) allows another name in a weighty position to open the sentence and the section. The fatal object of Cyzicus' action is given as the last word of the sentence, at the end of a line (23 *leonem*).

19 Dindyma ... lacertis 'Dindyma full of Bacchanalian revels by devotees (and/or: priests) with their bloody arms'. *bacchor* is most likely passive in sense (*OLD* 2), and *sanguineis ... lacertis* (\approx *famulis, quorum lacerti sanguinei sunt*) is a dative of agent (cf. Virg. *G.* 2.487–8 *uirginibus bacchata Iacaeis | Taygeta*, with Mynors *ad loc.*, *Aen.* 3.125 *bacchatamque iugis Naxon*, Stat. *Theb.* 4.371 *bacchate Cithaeron*, Claud. *Rapt. Pros.* 1.207–8 *ululatibus Ide | bacchatur*). **Dindyma:** also Dindymon, one of the mountain ridges running through the peninsula of Cyzicus (see 2.633, 3.232, AR 1.985, 1093, 1125, 1147, Strab. 12.8.11(575)). Like other mountains of that name, it was sacred to Cybele and particularly associated with her worship

(see 1–461, 19–31nn.; e.g. AR 1.1125, Σ AR 1.985, Catull. 63.13, 91, Virg. *Aen.* 9.617–20, 10.252, Prop. 3.22.1–4, Sil. 17.20–1, Claud. *Rapt. Pros.* 2.269). **sanguineis famulum ... lacertis**: cutting wounds in one's arms (*famulum* gen. pl.; see 4n.) is one of the rituals in the cult of Cybele (cf. 233–4, 8.239–42, Claud. *Rapt. Pros.* 2.269–70; see Schwenn 1922, 2259–60).

20 quatit refers to the impact of the horse's hooves on the ground; therefore it usually has *ungula* ('hoof') as subject (e.g. Enn. *Ann.* 204 W. = 243 Sk., Virg. *Aen.* 8.596). Here the notion is transferred from horse to rider. This, along with the attribute *asper* ('fierce', *OLD* 9a), emphasizes Cyzicus' impetuosity, strengthened by the predominantly dactylic movement of the line. **siluasque fatigat**: lit. 'he tires the woods' (i.e. by constantly traversing them), a poetic usage of the verb (*OLD* 1c). Almost the same line-ending, in connection with a hunt, is found at Virg. *Aen.* 9.605 *uenatque inuigilant pueri siluasque fatigant*.

21 deceptus: Cyzicus is 'deceived' by his desire for prey and absorbed in his activity (see 19–31n.; for the phrasing cf. Virg. *Ecl.* 8.18 *Nysae deceptus amore*).

22–3 assuetum ... | ... leonem: Cybele's typical attributes consist of a lion-drawn chariot and a turreted crown (e.g. 237–8, Lucr. 2.601, 606, Catull. 63.76, Virg. *Aen.* 3.113, 6.784–5, 10.252–3, Ov. *Fast.* 4.215–20, 224, 6.321, Stat. *Ach.* 2.60–1, Sil. 17.41–2, Claud. *Rapt. Pros.* 1.211–13, *In cons. Mall. Theod.* 300–2); her main area of worship is Phrygia (e.g. 2.624, 7.635, AR 1.1125–6, Catull. 63.20, Stat. *Ach.* 2.60). These verses rework several passages in Virgil's *Aeneid* with twists: the endings of both lines recall sketches of Cybele (6.785 *inuehitur curru Phrygiae turrata per urbes*, 10.253 *biuigique ad frena leones*); crucially, these refer to Cybele's usual appearance with the lions in place and with the goddess as the agent. The opening of line 22 alludes to the description of the stag killed by Ascanius (Virg. *Aen.* 7.487 *assuetum imperiis*). VF's sentence gives the normal occupation of the lion before the indication of what it is currently doing, so that the particular situation is revealed gradually.

24 captiuaque 'caught in hunting' (*OLD* 3). **ora** 'head' (*OLD* 7; cf. Stat. *Theb.* 7.276 *ora leonum*), forming a kind of hendiadys with *iubas*.

26 spoliū ... pudendum foreshadows the dire consequences of the deed, with reference both to Cyzicus (*infelix*: supply *sibi*; cf. 4.441 *infelix ... Cyzicus*; see also 95 and n.), and to the goddess. The wording suggests a sympathetic description rather than an implied judgement.

27–8 Haemoniam ... | ... ratem: Haemonia literally denotes the region of the Haemones (from Haemon, father of Thessalus), an area of Thessaly (on the names see Plin. *HN* 4.28), but the noun and related adjective are

applied to the whole of Thessaly in Greek and Roman poetry (e.g. Callim. F 304.1 Pf., Hor. *Carm.* 1.37.20, Ov. *Met.* 1.568; 2.542–3, *Fast.* 5.381). In VF these words often refer to the Argo and the Argonauts, who have set off from Thessaly (see also 12–13, 74, 86nn.).

27 tantae non immemor irae: the goddess does not forget the injury and waits for an opportune moment for revenge. As in Virgil's *Aeneid* (1.4 *saeuae memorem Iunonis ob iram*; see 14–18n.), the action is set in motion by the continuing anger of a goddess.

28 aerisono de monte: i.e. Dindyma (19 with n.). The adjective refers to the sound of metal cymbals, an element of the cult of Cybele (see e.g. Catull. 63.21, 29, Ov. *Fast.* 4.183–4, Claud. *Rapt. Pros.* 1.211). *aerisonus* is first attested in VF (also at 1.704; cf. also 88 *aegisono*) and then appears at Stat. *Theb.* 1.265, 4.298, Sil. 2.93, Claud. *Got.* 234, which may all be influenced by VF (see Zissos on 1.704–5).

28–9 praefixaque ... | scuta: apparently the Argonauts' shields are fitted to the hull of the ship (see 1.487–8, with Zissos *ad loc.*, 494–6; cf. Virg. *Aen.* 8.91–3). That this detail is mentioned here may indicate a reason why Cybele thinks of a battle as punishment. **regum**: the Argonauts are often referred to as *reges* in VF (e.g. 1.203, 342, 3.173, 504, 4.543, 6.487, 8.205), in the broader sense of 'chieftains' (*OLD* 6a; see Zissos on 1.342–3). In *AO βασιλῆες* ('kings') appears with the same meaning (e.g. 109, 281); with reference to other heroes it is already found in Homer (e.g. *Od.* 1.394).

29 noua monstra ... noua funera: what the goddess creates for Cyzicus (*uiro*) is a 'not previously known', 'unheard of' (*OLD* *nouus* 2, 3) 'atrocities' (*OLD* *monstrum* 5) because she exploits the Argonauts' arrival on their first journey. Moreover, there may be a metapoetic connotation: even though the battle is not a new addition to the mythical and literary tradition, VF narrates it in a novel manner. Cybele reacts like Venus in Virgil's *Aeneid* after Aeneas' arrival in Carthage, when she decides to make Dido fall in love with Cupid's help (1.657–8 *at Cytherea nouas artis, noua pectore uersat | consilia, ut ...*). **uoluit** 'she turned over in her mind' (*OLD* 11), perhaps a variation of the Virgilian *uersat*.

30–1 ut ... utque introduce consecutive clauses, explaining what *noua monstra* and *noua funera* will involve (G–L §557). **socias ... | ... urbem**: the events to come and their assessment in a nutshell: *socii* will be made to fight against each other *in nocte*, violating the ties and pledges of hospitality; therefore these battles will be *impia*. People will be driven to such deeds by *saeui errores*, and the entire *urbs* will be involved (on the poet's assessment of the battle see also Franchet d'Espèrey 1998:

214-15). **manus ... | conserat:** *manus conserere* is a frequent paraphrase for 'joining battle', normally used of the fighters (*OLD manus* 9c) rather than of the author of the fight. *manus* and *bella* (as objects of *conserere*) express the notion of starting the fighting by a concrete and an abstract phrase, with slightly different meanings of the verb (syllepsis).

D. Preparations for the battle (32-94)

This transitional section between the prehistory (19-31) and the battle (95-248) sketches how the battle comes about: the Argo's helmsman Tiphys is overwhelmed by sleep on divine instigation, and the Argo therefore returns to Cyzicus at night (32-42). In the darkness the people of Cyzicus believe that their usual enemies, the Pelasgians, have come, and, driven to frenzy by Pan, they are thrown into panic (43-57). The alarm reaches king Cyzicus, who, provoked by an appearance of the war goddess Bellona, rushes into battle (58-73). The Argonauts remain passive in uncertainty until a weapon strikes and then arm themselves under Jason's leadership (74-94).

This passage continues the depiction of divine influence. As elsewhere in VF (e.g. Lemnos: 2.115-241, Perses: 6.1-31, Medea: 6.429-506, 7.153-399), a powerful divine stimulus provokes activity on the human level; the divine intervention occurs in two stages and takes account of the general situation (see Schenk 1999: 160, 325-40), in this case the continuous threat from the Pelasgians (2.653-62). The relationship between Cybele (27-31), Pan (45-57), Bellona (60-3) and the *diuum imperia* affecting Tiphys (40) remains vague. Cybele and Bellona are mentioned alongside each other in a double simile elsewhere (7.635-6; cf. Juv. 6.511-12 *ecce furentis | Bellonae matrisque deum chorus intrat*).

While AR reports that the Argo returns and the two sides start fighting (1.1015-25), VF provides a dramatic sketch indebted to Virgil's *Aeneid*: book 5 (5.833-71) for the helmsman falling asleep, book 2 (esp. 2.250-317) for the return of ships and confusion at night and the motif that people do not recognize their opponents in the darkness (2.370-401) and book 7 (esp. 7.511-30) for the divine impulse to start a battle (see e.g. Burck (1970) 1981: 542, 544, Scaffai 1997: 51, Schenk 1999: 160).

1. The helmsman Tiphys overwhelmed by sleep and return of the Argo (32-42)

With an indication of time (32) the narrative is resumed after the flash-back. The setting of a calm night and smooth sailing (32-8) contrasts with the sailing 'misadventure' (39-42). The detailed sketch emphasizes that

the sudden change, with Tiphys' losing control of the ship, is due not to a lack of care or expertise (cf. 1.418-19, 481-3, 5.14-15), but rather to powerful divine intervention (see e.g. Garson 1964: 268, Ferenczi 1995: 150). Once Tiphys has been made to fall asleep, the Argo returns to the 'friendly' harbour (42 with n.). In AR the Argo is blown back by wind (1.1016-18; see Hurst 1964). Seal (2014: 132-4) notes that in VF the divine machinations 'are only able to come to fruition through the inherent limitations of navigation'; yet this does not seem to be the main emphasis, as the description of the divine workings takes precedence.

The pattern of a group of men on a sea journey returning to the place of departure, because of winds and the helmsman's falling asleep, goes back to Homer's *Odyssey*: Odysseus, who has been steering the ship, falls asleep, and his companions open the bags from Aeolus, which causes winds that blow them back (10.28-55). In Virgil's *Aeneid* 2 the Greeks return to Troy at night to capture the city, as part of a preconceived stratagem (2.250-9).

The divinely motivated sleep recalls the helmsman Palinurus in Virgil's *Aeneid* (5.833-71). Virgil narrates the sequence more vividly and in greater detail with the appearance of personified Sleep, a conversation between him and Palinurus and a comment by Aeneas. In Virgil Sleep seems to act in a self-contained scene, while in VF the incident is part of a series of divine interventions. As Palinurus drowns in the sea, he is spared the realization of the consequences, which Tiphys has to face (259-61). In the *Aeneid* the loss of the helmsman does not affect the journey, since at first the ship glides on, retaining its course, and then Aeneas takes over steering it (see Steinkühler 1989: 297-8, Schenk 1991: 143, 1999: 157-8).

32 nox erat et: a frequent phrase in poetry (mostly at the beginning of lines) for introducing night scenes (e.g. Virg. *Aen.* 3.147, 4.522-3, 8.26-7); it typically indicates peaceful sleep and quiet, contrasted with a single person's restlessness or a sudden development. This marker of time is matched by the end of the night after the battle (257; cf. 210-13; see Shelton 1971: 112, Schenk 1999: 157-8 n. 170). The narrative of the night-time battle in *Aeneid* 2 also begins with an indication of time (2.250). **leni canebant aequora sulco** 'the sea was white in the <ship's> smooth wake', *sulcus* (lit. 'furrow') is applied to the wake of a ship (*OLD* 3b); *lenis* indicates its smooth movement (cf. 2.430, Ov. *Hal.* 100-1, Manil. 1.708, Sil. 14.379-80).

33 iam prona leues spargebant sidera somnos: the stars are 'setting' (*OLD pronus* 5b), since it is after midnight; this hour suggests gentle sleep (*OLD leuis* 6b) even to those who have remained awake so far (cf. Virg. *Aen.* 2.9 *suadentque cadentia sidera somnos*, Stat. *Ach.* 1.619-21).

In Virgil's *Aeneid* Sleep tempts Palinurus about the middle of the night (5.835–41). In VF this timing implies, since the Argonauts seem to have left Cyzicus in the morning (1–2), that they have travelled for the major part of a day and that the night covers the last part of the outward journey (34–6), the entire return journey (41–3) and the battle (44–256). The extraordinary length of the night (210–11 with n.) increases the horror of the clash. Structurally, this verse is a 'golden line' of the type abVAB (two adjectives followed by the corresponding nouns after a verb in the middle; cf. also 260, 408).

34 uehit: a (historical) present after descriptive imperfects (32–3), marking the start of the action (G–L §229). **religant tonsas** 'they (i.e. the Argonauts) tie up the oars' (*OLD religo* 3a).

34–6 ueloque ... | ... legunt 'with the sail they coast along' (*OLD lego*² 7b). **Proconeson** | **Rhyndace** | **Scylaceon:** the island of Proconessos in the Propontis (spelled Proconesos for metrical convenience; not in AR), the river Rhyndacus that empties into the Propontis (AR 1.1165, passed shortly after the Argonauts' final departure from Cyzicus; cf. also *AO* 632–3, Strab. 12.8.11, Mela 1.99, Plin. *HN* 5.142; used as a name for a fighter at 6.220) and the town of Scylace on the coast of Mysia, east of Cyzicus (not in AR; cf. Hdt. 1.57.2, Mela 1.98, Plin. *HN* 5.142). There is no other mention of the detail that the river Rhyndacus keeps its particular colour (presumably caused by the sand it carries) far into the sea, but similar features are attested for other rivers (Rheba: cf. Avien. *Orbis* 963–5, Nile: cf. Catull. 11.7–8). The form *Scylaceon* (with Greek inflection) is used nowhere else as a variant of the name Scylace; it seems to be inspired by Virgil's phrase *nauifragum Scylaceum* applied to a different place (*Aen.* 3.553). The list in VF conveys the impression that the Argonauts have travelled some distance (around Cyzicus and eastwards) before they return (see Schenk 1999: 158 n. 70). The style strives for poetic variation: the additional information on each item varies in length and the kind of detail given, the geographical features are unusual, and the middle item is addressed in apostrophe (see Intro. 2.3, 2.7). **spumosumque ... fracta ... ab unda** 'foamy because of broken waves'. *ab* denotes the reason (*OLD* 15a); the singular is collective. 'By rocks' has to be supplied with *fracta* (*OLD frango* 1d; cf. Virg. *Aen.* 1.160–1 *omnis ab alto | frangitur inque sinus scindit sese unda reductos*).

37–8 ipse ... | ... ministrat 'Tiphys himself consults the day and the sun's going to bed from afar; he himself directs the ship with the wind and the stars.' The two phrases with the emphatic, anaphoric *ipse* emphasize Tiphys' care and expertise (see 2, 32–42nn.). **solisque cubilia:** a metaphorical

description of sunset (cf. Hor. *Carm.* 4.15.15–16, Stat. *Silu.* 3.1.183 *solisque cubilia*). **uento stellisque:** best interpreted as an ablative of instrument (see Harrison on Virg. *Aen.* 10.218). When *ministro* is applied to steering ships elsewhere, it is joined (*OLD* 1c) with *uelis*, generally seen as a dative, and tends not to have a direct object (cf. Virg. *Aen.* 6.302 *ipse ratem conto subigit uelisque ministrat*, 10.217–18 *Aeneas (neque enim membris dat cura quietem) | ipse sedens clauumque regit uelisque ministrat*, Tac. *Germ.* 44.2 *nec uelis* [sc. *naues*] *ministrant* [Lipsius: *ministrantur* codd.]).

39–40 illum non ante Sopor *luctamine tanto | lenit* 'Sleep calms him with such a great effort as never before.' In Virgil's *Aeneid* (5.855–6) Sleep approaches Palinurus with a bough *ui ... soporatum Stygia* and overwhelms him despite his resistance. This relationship may be alluded to metapoetically by *non ante*, i.e. in comparison with the earlier text. Grammatically, *non ante ... tanto* is a brachylogy with a suppressed comparative clause (*tanto luctamine quanto non ante lenierat*). **Sopor:** in view of the context probably a personified force (cf. Virg. *Aen.* 6.278, Stat. *Theb.* 2.59–60), even though there is no description of a divine being with anthropomorphic characteristics (unlike *Somnus* at Virg. *Aen.* 5.838–56). **lenit:** words like *lenis* and *lenire* are often associated with sleep (e.g. 7.213, Ov. *Met.* 8.823, *Fast.* 4.653, *Trist.* 4.3.22, Apul. *Met.* 5.26). Here relaxation occurs only after Sleep's efforts, emphasized by the oxymoron *luctamine ... | lenit*. Therefore the text has sometimes been doubted (e.g. Delz 1991: 11: *cepit*).

40 agens diuum imperiis 'acting on the orders of gods'. The force setting the events in motion is referred to as 'gods', although only Cybele has been introduced as the agent (19–31). Tiphys later addresses the responsible entity as 'gods of the sea' (259–60 with n.). Therefore the term 'gods' seems to be a formula for supernatural influence (cf. 224 *ira deum*), while the relationship to Cybele's activities is left open (see also Steinkühler 1989: 294; see Intro. 2.5).

40–1 cadit ... | ... oculos: inscia ('unwitting') is applied to *dextera*, with a particular variety of a transferred epithet, where characteristics of people are attributed to a part or movement of the body (cf. e.g. 441, 562; see Langen on 1.109, Zissos on 1.108–10). Subject of *demittit* is Tiphys, inferred from *inscia ... | dextera*.

41 solataque 'deserted', 'bereft', i.e. of the helmsman. The verb *solo* is rare and elsewhere used of deserted places (cf. Sen. *Oed.* 4, Stat. *Theb.* 4.36, 5.149). Only here does it appear as an equivalent to *desolo* 'leave bereft' (by the common poetic device of employing a simple verb for a compound).

42 turbine: a ‘whirlwind’ (*OLD* 2a) turns the Argo round and sends her back to Cyzicus. Although in VF the main reason for the Argonauts’ return is divine intervention, this localized wind is needed to turn the ship’s course into the opposite direction. **portuque ... amico:** the friendship between the Argonauts and the people of Cyzicus is stressed a last time before the catastrophe, creating a tension between the knowledge of the characters and the readers (see also Seal 2014: 133). With the Argo as subject, the quality is attributed to the harbour (*portu* is a variant of the dative, common in poetry; see G–L §61 and r. 2, Romeo 1907: 19). AR’s phrasing is more straightforward: ‘until they again reached the hospitable Doliones’ (1.1017–18). VF’s wording alludes by contrast to the return of Aeneas and his men to Sicily in Virgil’s *Aeneid*: approaching *notae ... harenae* and *portus ... amicos* (5.34, 57), they will again meet a friendly host. Presumably on the basis of the sketched itinerary of the Argonauts (34–6), Sauer (2011: 138 n. 609) assumes that the Argo returns to the eastern rather than the western part of the harbour as before (for Cyzicus’ harbours see AR 1.954, 965, 987, Strab. 12.8.11). This is plausible if each time the Argonauts anchor at the point they first come upon; then *notis ... uadis* (43) would not refer literally to waters the Argo has gone through before but to the area around Cyzicus. Yet the Argo could have drifted to the same part of the harbour again.

2. Arrival of the Argo, battle cry and Pan’s intervention (43–57)

As soon as the Argo returns, there are war signals and a battle cry (43–5). This is due not (only) to the reaction of the inhabitants of Cyzicus, who are used to night-time attacks from the Pelasgians, but also to an intervention of the god Pan, acting on Cybele’s orders (46–7 with n.). Since one of Pan’s characteristics is to cause sudden and enormous fear, he is the appropriate god to throw the people in the town into frenzy. A sketch of how this madness manifests itself is replaced by a description of Pan and the great fear he can cause (48–57).

The characterization of Pan may be compared with the sketch of Fama in Virgil’s *Aeneid* (4.173–97), as both interventions fuel a conflict (see Garson 1964: 269). In addition to epic models there might be reminiscences of events in recent history (see Preiswerk 1934: 441): Tacitus records an incident when Roman soldiers, though received in a friendly manner by the inhabitants of an allied town, are struck with sudden panic and fury, as a result of which they kill a large number of the locals (*Hist.* 1.63), and another occasion on which a legion sees an allied force in the distance but still seizes its arms, fearing that it may have been betrayed (*Hist.* 3.10).

43 notis: the Argo has been to the waters around Cyzicus before (42 *portu ... amico* with n.). Supply *est* to *allapsa* (as well as to *emissa* in 44 and *rupta* in 46). **aethere longo** ‘far through the air’ (adjective with adverbial force) or ‘through the vast heaven’ (*OLD longus* 4a). The ablative is most likely locative, used without a preposition (Woodcock §51 (iv)).

44 tubae uox et: the trumpet blast and the voice suddenly appear without an indication of their author (cf. 51); the context suggests that the gods are responsible (Finkmann 2014: 80 identifies the speaker as Pan). In book 6, when Mars drives the humans into battle, he utters a similar cry and has *tubae* make a noise (6.27–9); he has been asked to do so by Aeetes (5.250–2). For a mysterious voice caused by a divinity cf. also Sil. 13.283; for a supernatural trumpet blast cf. Virg. *Aen.* 8.523–6. **uox:** the subject of the second phrase, preceding the postponed conjunction *et* (frequent in VF as in other poets from the Augustan period onwards; see *OLD*).

45 hostis habet portus: a typical exclamation to indicate that the enemy is near (cf. Virg. *Aen.* 2.290 *hostis habet muros*, 9.38, Sil. 6.558–9). In Virgil’s *Aeneid* 2 this is a warning before a night-time confrontation between real enemies. At another reversal of the common situation in VF’s Lemnos episode Hypsipyle realizes that the attackers come from within; her cry voices this paradox: ‘*fuge protinus urbem | meque, pater! non hostis, ait ‘non moenia laesi | Thraces habent; nostrum hoc facinus. ne quaere, quis auctor!’* (2.249–51). *portus* is most likely a poetic plural (perhaps influenced by Virgil’s *muros*), though AR mentions three harbours near the town of Cyzicus (1.954, 965, 987). **Pelasgi:** because the approach of the ‘Pelasgians’ is a frequent occurrence (cf. 2.653–62), the people of Cyzicus believe that they are coming once again. In AR the inhabitants of Cyzicus regard the returning Argonauts as ‘a Pelasgian host of Macrian men’ (1.1023–4). Elsewhere in VF the Argonauts are called ‘Pelasgians’ (5.116, 473–6, 682) because they come from (Pelasgian) Thessaly (AR 1.580–1). From the Homeric epics onwards Pelasgians in Thessaly (*Il.* 2.681, 16.233) and Pelasgians in Asia Minor (*Il.* 2.840, 10.429, 17.288) have existed side by side (see 95–248n.). There was uncertainty over the application of the term ‘Pelasgian’, and the description was used both for ancient Greek tribes in various parts of Greece and for peoples in Asia Minor (see Schachermeyr 1937). VF’s use of these names creates the ironic situation that the people of Cyzicus are attacked by ‘Pelasgians’, but not the ‘usual’ ones (see also Finkmann 2014: 80–1).

46 rupta quies: cf. Luc. 1.239 *rupta quies populi* (in a civil war context).

46–7 deus ... | ... Pan: the sentence starts with a reference to an unspecified *deus*, whose identity is revealed in the following line, where a

connection to Cybele is indicated. A more extensive description of Pan is appended, with a repetition of the name (48–50). Pan's intervention is part of the divine motivation constructed by VF (see 19–31, 32–94, 40, 43–57nn.). Pan is a god of the woods, of herdsmen and hunters, but equally of war (48), as he can provoke sudden 'panic' (e.g. 6.530–41, Hyg. *Astron.* 2.28), and thus an appropriate precursor of Bellona (60). He is connected with Cybele in Pindar (*Pyth.* 3.77–9 = 3.137–9, v. 95–6 M.). Like herdsmen, he was thought to rest during the hot hours in the middle of the day. His attributes include the syrinx, a herdsman's crook, a pine-crown and a lynx-hide (see Preller 1894: 738–47, Roscher 1897–1902: 738–47). Silius Italicus inverts Pan's role in VF: he has Jupiter send Pan (once again in the service of another god) to avert complete destruction of Capua (13.326–47). Silius Italicus too repeats Pan's name in epanalepsis, and the presentation focuses on Pan's appearance and habits.

46 ancipitem '(of a person) undecided, wavering, dubious' (*OLD* 11a). The adjective agrees with *urbem*, but describes the inhabitants (cf. Luc. 1.266 *expulit ancipiti discordes urbe tribunos*). Although the battle cry suggests the belief that the Pelasgians have come once again (45), the people of Cyzicus are unsure who confronts them and how to react. Similarly, *anceps* ... *pauor* affects the Argonauts (74 with n.). **lymphauerat** 'he had driven crazy': a strong verb, also used for the influence of other gods on humans (cf. Stat. *Theb.* 7.662, 10.160).

47 Mygdoniae: the Mygdones were originally a Thracian people, who then settled also in various areas in Asia Minor. Poets often use the adjective *Mygdonius* in the sense of 'Phrygian' (cf. Hor. *Carm.* 2.12.22 *pinguis Phrygiae Mygdonias opes*) or as a vague indication of the region. This area was associated particularly with Cybele (Magna Mater) and her cult; hence the adjective became applied to Cybele (e.g. 8.239–49, Claud. *Rapt. Pros.* 2.267–70, *In cons. Mall. Theod.* 17.300–2). Mygdon, mentioned later (320), may be the eponymous king of the Mygdones (see 320n.). **iussa ferens**: while Spaltenstein accepts the normal meaning of *iussa ferre* as 'conveying orders' (e.g. Virg. *Aen.* 4.378 *interpretes diuum fert horrida iussa per auras*), most scholars interpret this phrase in the unparalleled sense of *iussa exsequi* ('carrying out orders'), as seems required here. Given VF's style, the unusual meaning is not a sufficient reason for major changes to the text (Watt 1984: 164: *serens* or rather *gerens*). **saeuissima**: cf. *saeuis erroribus* (31) in the description of Cybele's plans.

48 lucis ab horis 'away from the hours of daylight' (Maserius' emendation) creates a contrast to *ad medias* ... *noctes* (49). The description seems to be developed from Pan's traditional characteristics of resting during the midday heat in a retreat (Theocr. 1.15–17) and of a love of caves into

which he might withdraw (*Hymn. Orph.* 11.12, Ov. *Met.* 11.147; see Preller 1894: 740, Roscher 1897–1902: 1395–6, 1404).

49–50 patet ... | ... **frontis** 'towards the middle of the night in remote places his bristly flank and the hissing hair of his grim forehead are out in the open'. **saetigerum latus**: a deer-skin or lynx-skin is among Pan's attributes (cf. *Hymn. Hom.* 19.23–4a, Sil. 13.334–5; see 46–7n.). **toruae coma sibia frontis**: a reference to another of Pan's attributes, the pine-crown (cf. Lucr. 4.586–7, Ov. *Met.* 1.699, 14.638, *Fast.* 1.412, Sil. 13.331; see 46–7n.). This may make a 'hissing or sim. sound' (*OLD* *sibilus*), and *coma* can have a broader meaning (contrast Sil.), applied to 'the mane of an animal' or 'the snakes forming the 'hair' of Furies' (*OLD* 1b; cf. 54).

51 uox omnes super una tubas: this general comment on the effects of Pan's appearance in a battle context (cf. 43–4) explains why he has such a strong effect on Cyzicus. **conus** 'helmet' as *pars pro toto*; lit. 'the upper part of the helmet to which the crest was attached' (*OLD* 2a; cf. Virg. *Aen.* 3.468 *conum insignis galeae cristasque comantis*).

52 rotis 'wheels', again *pars pro toto*, for *curribus*. *trepididis* is a transferred epithet, describing the charioteers (cf. 132 *trepidant* ... *puppēs*).

53 cadunt denotes different aspects of 'falling' with its different subjects (syllepsis): the helmet falls down; the swords fall out of the hands; the charioteer falls down from the chariot; the bolts fall down from the walls. **Martia cassis**: *Martia* is adjective for the possessive genitive *Martis* (on this poetic construction see e.g. Harrison on Virg. *Aen.* 10.156–7). Mars is frequently associated with a particular helmet (e.g. Stat. *Theb.* 3.223, Sil. 4.432–3).

54 Eumenidumque comae: the hair of the Eumenides/Erinyes consists of snakes (cf. e.g. 4.413, Virg. *Aen.* 7.447–50, Ov. *Met.* 4.474–5, 490–4; see Wüst 1956: 124–5). **tristis ab aethere Gorgo**: Gorgo, a female monster, is envisaged as looking down from the sky (cf. Virg. *Aen.* 8.701 *tristesque ex aethere Dirae*). Because of the more common notion of Gorgo on the aegis (cf. e.g. 6.173–6, Luc. 7.149, Sil. 9.441–3) Heinsius changed *aethere* to *aegide*. But Gorgo is sometimes seen as a natural phenomenon located in the sky (see Roscher 1886–90: 1698–1701, Ziegler 1912: 1646–8).

55 sparserit: *metus* as an object of *spargere* (*OLD* 7a 'to sow (reports, feelings, etc.) widely, spread about') is unusual, but the verb is used metaphorically with other nouns (e.g. *uoces*). The perfect subjunctive (like *raptauerit* and 89 *dispulerit*) has a potential meaning (G–L §257 n. 1). **tantis aciem raptauerit umbris** 'could sweep a battle line along by such enormous shadowy spectres' (cf. 6.407–8). This

image refers to notions growing in the minds of the people affected by terrifying forces in war (see Nováková 1964: 143–4).

56–7 ludus ... | ... iuenci: the other aspect of Pan, as a god of the countryside (see 46–7n.). There too he inflicts terror: the two parts of the subordinate clause (with postponed *cum*) describe Pan's actions and the effect on the animals. In Silius Italicus' inversion of Pan's portrait he returns to the mountains at the end, and the flocks follow his music, so that the scene closes on a peaceful note (13.346–7).

3. Cyzicus' path into battle (58–73)

For Cyzicus there is a second divine intervention (see 32–94n.) by the war goddess Bellona: she makes him rush into battle and thus develops the fear initiated by Pan into fighting (see Schenk 1991: 143–7, 1999: 159–62; see Intro. 2.5). Bellona provokes Cyzicus and causes him to act as if mad; this state of mind is exemplified by similes (65–9). Yet scholars often imply some responsibility on Cyzicus' part and see him as moving rashly into disaster (e.g. Lũthje 1971: 96, 101, Timonen 1998: 165, Schenk 1999: 33).

The intervention of the war goddess Bellona (on the gods active here see 19–31, 32–94, 40nn.) links this battle to Jupiter's plans for world history, since he has opened the seas for Bellona (1.545–6; see Intro. 2.4, 1–461n.): Bellona uses her first chance to have people from different continents fight each other.

AR does not have a scene focused on Cyzicus before the battle. The sequence in VF could be inspired by the Fury Allecto's influence on Turnus at the beginning of the battles in Latium in Virgil's *Aeneid* (7.413–72): there too the protagonist is roused from sleep and runs madly into battle (esp. 7.458–62). At the start of the nocturnal battle in Troy Aeneas is woken up and rushes into the fighting. He is equally moved by a supernatural figure; but the appearance of the dead Hector, giving him advice, endows the scene with a more forward-looking atmosphere (2.268–317). With respect to Cyzicus, the combination of terrifying, foreboding dreams (58–60) and similes describing people as out of their senses (65–9) recalls the characterization of Virgil's Dido prior to her death (4.465–73); both figures will die as a result of their hospitality (see 1–461n.).

58 clamor ruit: since *clamor* denotes specific exclamations rather than indistinct noises (*OLD* 3; see Spaltenstein on 3.58–63, Zissos on 1.158–9), it may refer to the warning cry that the Pelasgians are attacking the harbour (44–5) or shouts of fear in the town caused by the resulting agitation (46). For *ruo* (*OLD* 1b) applied to sounds moving swiftly cf. Virg. *Aen.* 6.44.

58–60 exsilit ... | ... | Cyzicus: the sentence opens with a verb expressing the new action and closes with a noun identifying the subject.

58–9 altis | ... toris: not a particular type of bed, but a royal bed (cf. the same phrase applied to Venus' bed at 6.456–7, also Virg. *Aen.* 2.2; *OLD* *allus* 3d).

59 somnia dira ... simulacraque pallida: the bad dreams will have alerted Cyzicus to impending misfortune (352–6; see 332–61n.). There is no hint that the dreams are connected with his behaviour towards Cybele (but see Schenk 1991: 144, 145, 147; see 19–31n.). *simulacra pallida* may mean 'pale images seen in a dream' (*OLD* *simulacrum* 4a) or 'pale shades', 'ghosts of the dead' (*OLD* *simulacrum* 4b); both nuances may be implied.

60 ecce marks a sudden development with a visual dimension (cf. Serv. ad Virg. *Aen.* 2.270 '*ecce*' *hac particula utimur quotiens repentinum aliquid uolumus indicare*; see Zissos on 1.207; cf. 124, 257). Bellona is envisaged as having opened the doors and now standing in front of them, touching the rooftop with her helm-crest and dressed like an Amazon (see 61n.). **super:** most likely a preposition with *foribus ... reclusis* (*OLD* *super*³ 10a; cf. Virg. *Aen.* 6.17 *super astilit arce*), which highlights Bellona's supernatural appearance. **Bellona** combines elements of an Italic goddess, associated with war and Mars, and an Asiatic one with similarities to Cybele (see e.g. Aust 1897). For Bellona in epic war narratives cf. e.g. Virg. *Aen.* 8.703, Stat. *Theb.* 7.72–4, Sil. 4.436–9, 5.220–4. There are hardly any certain iconographic representations of Bellona (see *LIMC* s.v.); hence it is uncertain whether VF's description might be influenced by pictorial representations.

61 nuda latus 'bare on the side' (so-called Greek accusative or accusative of respect with parts of the body; see G–L §338), just like an Amazon ready for battle (cf. e.g. Virg. *Aen.* 11.648–9, Sil. 2.79). **passuque mouens orichalca sonoro** 'moving brazen weapons with sonorous step'. Bellona's weapons are made of a kind of brass, and the technical term for the metal is used metonymically for the weapons (cf. Stat. *Theb.* 10.660; *OLD* b).

62 triplici pulsans fastigia crista: Bellona wears a helmet with a triple crest (cf. Virg. *Aen.* 7.785, Sil. 5.134), which knocks against the gable of Cyzicus' house.

63 inde 'from there', i.e. from where Bellona stands by the opened door (see 60n.). **ciere:** a historic infinitive (see G–L §647; Zissos on 1.608–9; also at 95, 257–8, 268, 601–3), common in historiographical texts and revived in poetry by Virgil; it places an emphasis on the development of the action (Merone 1957: 81). The phrasing recalls the beginning of a line in Virgil's *Aeneid* (6.165 *aere ciere uiros*), also referring

to calling men to battle, but there the infinitive does not function as a main verb. **per moenia** ‘through the city’ (cf. 247, 7.374).

64 fatis extrema in proelia: Cyzicus is rushing into his last battle, in which he will die (220–42) as fated. *fatīs* (ablative of cause) is most likely to go with *extrema* (‘his very last battle according to the fates’).

65–9 qualis ... | ... | ... | ... | ... Thebae: two similes illustrate Cyzicus’ state of mind, caused by supernatural influences, and the disastrous consequences of the resulting behaviour (cf. Virg. *Aen.* 4.469–73). The first focuses on rushing to attack with a deluded perception of reality; the second demonstrates the consequences of fighting against kinsmen without realizing this. In the narrative of the battle and its preparation these initial similes about Cyzicus correspond to the last (224–8), also referring to him (see Shelton 1971: 114–16, Gärtner 1994: 241–2), and they are matched by a simile on Jason in a similar position (83–5 with n.).

65–7 qualis ... | ... | ... ruit: this mythical reference is vague and elusive. It is often seen as an allusion to the battle between Centaurs and Lapiths (e.g. Newman 1986: 224, Bernstein 2008: 53); however, an involvement of Hercules in this battle is not recorded (cf. 1.140–8). Therefore it could also be an allusion to the fight between Hercules and the Centaurs, traditionally located on Pholoe (a mountain area in southeast Elis close to the border with Arcadia, regarded as the home country of the Centaurs), where a barrel of wine is at the centre of the dispute (see Roscher 1890–7: 1040–8). Rhoecus is not elsewhere connected with this incident, but his name may have been used as a paradigmatic example of a wild Centaur (cf. Virg. *G.* 2.456, Ov. *Mel.* 12.271, Luc. 6.390). Theseus took part in the battle between the Centaurs and Lapiths, but his participation in Hercules’ fight against the Centaurs is not recorded elsewhere.

Alciden et Thesea: the two heroes are often associated (cf. 4.701 *Alcides Theseusque comes*). Alternative names for Hercules are common in poetry for metrical reasons. Alcides (according to Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.4.12, the hero was originally called Alcides and later given the name Hercules) is probably a patronymic (or rather papponymic), after Hercules’ putative mortal grandfather Alcaeus, father of his human father Amphitryon (see Zissos on 1.34–6); Hercules was also related to Alcaeus via his maternal grandmother, daughter of Alcaeus (on Hercules’ genealogy see Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.4.5). Further, there may be a connection with the Greek word ἀλκή (‘strength’) (see Wijsman on 5.90). *Thesea* is a Greek form of the accusative, as for most Greek names in VF (see 159, 204; see also 511–12n.). **Rhoecus:** *Rhoetus* in the manuscripts (sometimes kept) is generally emended to *Rhoecus* (as at 1.141; see Zissos on

1.140–1; contrast Kleywegt on 1.141), which seems to be the Greek form of the Centaur’s name. Different spellings of this name are also found in the manuscripts of other ancient authors (e.g. Virg. *G.* 2.456, Luc. 6.390; see Nisbet and Hubbard on Hor. *Carm.* 2.19.23, Mynors on Virg. *G.* 2.455–7). **iniqui | nube meri:** vision and mind are ‘clouded’ from excessive drinking of unmixed wine (*OLD iniquus* 2b, *nubes* 8b). **geminam:** an allusion to the common experience that drunk people see things double (e.g. Hor. *Sat.* 2.1.25, Ov. *Ars* 3.764, Juv. 6.303–5; a similar effect caused by panic at Stat. *Theb.* 7.108–16).

67–9 qualisue ... | ... | ... Thebae: Athamas (*pater*) killed his son Learchus in an act of divinely instigated frenzy during a hunt, believing him to be an animal (cf. Stat. *Theb.* 3.186–7 *infelix Athamas trepido de monte ueniret, | semianimem heu laeto referens clamore Learchum*; perhaps influenced by VF: see Gärtner 1994: 241 n. 9). VF does not name the main character; instead he alludes to selected features of the well-known story (cf. 1.280, Ov. *Mel.* 4.420–542, *Fast.* 6.485–92, Stat. *Silu.* 2.1.143, Hyg. *Fab.* 4.5). Like Athamas, Cyzicus unknowingly confronts people he loves; the sequence of killing during a hunt and then rejoicing without being aware of the actual deed and the potential consequences also applies to Cyzicus. The aspect of unwittingly killing a close acquaintance illustrates what Jason is about to do (see also Bernstein 2008: 53), especially since Athamas is also a relative of Jason. **Triuiamque:** Triuia (‘the goddess of the meeting-place of three roads’) is another appellation of Artemis/Diana (see 321), closely associated with Hecate, from whom the name was taken over. *lustra* (‘haunts of wild beasts’) and *Triuia* combine in metonymy and hendiadys to express the notion of ‘hunt’. **miseræ declinant lumina Thebae:** the city of Thebes, where the incident was traditionally located, is presented as personified and sharing in the sorrow (cf. Catull. 64.91–2 *flagrantia declinauit | lumina*, Stat. *Ach.* 1.840 *tristes ... Thebae*). Including the city’s reaction to Athamas’ deed looks forward to the fact that the battle on Cyzicus too will affect the community and make them lament the consequences of an inadvertent killing.

70 iamque adeo introduces the next stage as Cyzicus rushes out of the house into battle with nothing and nobody being able to hold him back (cf. Virg. *Aen.* 5.864 *iamque adeo scopulos Sirenum aduecta subibat*). **pone:** the guards (*manus*; *OLD* 22a) are behind Cyzicus and/or the gates (adverb: *OLD* 1); they are the first (71 *prima*) to encounter Cyzicus.

71 excubias sortita manus ‘the troop of guards that had drawn the lot to keep watch’ (*OLD sortior* 3; cf. Virg. *G.* 4.165, *Aen.* 9.174–5, *Sil.* 7.155).

72 hinc marks a second step, involving the population in general, after a first step (71 *prima*), concerning the guards. For *hinc* indicating a further development (though without a preceding structuring term) cf. 95, 133.

72-3 proxima quaeque | ... **domus**: the other people in the town join according to the location of their houses, since every house to which Cyzicus draws near becomes affected (with the houses personified or metonymically representing the inhabitants).

73 inanes 'vain', 'futile' (*OLD* 13a), because there is no actual reason (since there are no enemies) or because these efforts will not have any result.

4. Argonauts moving into battle (74-94)

In the darkness the Argonauts have no idea of where they are, who confronts them and why (74-6). Therefore they remain passive until a lance hitting their ship provokes them into arming (78-80). Jason leads the way and is singled out as the leader (80-6), with his activities and state of mind illustrated by similes (83-5). Having overcome their initial fear, the Argonauts form a compact, terror-inciting mass, again illustrated by similes (87-94).

AR does not describe the Argonauts' preparation for battle. The passage in VF balances the sketch for the inhabitants of Cyzicus (also added). The juxtaposition shows that king Cyzicus and his people are driven to fighting by divine instigation. The first attack comes from their side; the Argonauts only disembark and start fighting when provoked (see also Happle 1957: 100, Ferenczi 1995: 151, contrast e.g. Sauer 2011: 130 n. 616, 140-1, 194-5).

74 at: often marks a new scene or development in VF (e.g. 1.184, 3.113, 182, 598, 5.602, 7.26), without an emphatic contrast (see Zissos on 1.96-8). Here it indicates the change of perspective from the people of Cyzicus to the Argonauts. **Minyas**: *Minyae* frequently denotes the Argonauts in VF and other writers such as Ovid (see also 27-8, 86nn.). According to AR the reason is that 'the most and the best claimed to be sprung from the blood of the daughters of Minyas' (1.229-33); elsewhere he has Jason define Haemonia as the home country of the hero Minyas (3.1093-5). In fact the Minyae were an ancient tribe in Boiotia, who became associated with the Argonautic legend. **anceps** ... **pauor**: this phrase (cf. Virg. *Aen.* 3.47, Sil. 3.557) might mean that fear and doubt affect the people (*OLD anceps* 11b), or the adjective is proleptic and transferred, indicating fear that makes people undecided (*OLD anceps* 11a). In either case the Argonauts are confused like the people of Cyzicus (46 with n.). **fixit**: cf. Stat. *Ach.* 1.158 *figit gelidus Nereida pallor*.

74-5 aegra ... | **corda**: 'sick' because of fear; cf. Sil. 11.55-6, 15.135-6. For the phrase cf. Ov. *Her.* 17.178 *in dubio pectora nostra labant*.

75/6/8: in the so-called *codex Carrionis* (see Intro. 4.1) line 76 is followed by a line added by an old, though different hand in the margin (*hostis et exciti dent obuia praelia Colchi*), numbered as 77, but regarded as inauthentic. Ehlers assumes an elliptical expression and hence accepts the text as complete without this line, while other scholars posit a lacuna in its place (most recently Liberman, Spaltenstein, Hurka 2003: 39-43). Yet the text is already elliptical in 75, it presents a tricolon of questions as it stands, and the necessary supplements can be inferred. Hence Ehlers' solution seems easiest, yielding the following construction: the main verb is *cernunt*, and its subject is *uiri* (inferred from *uironum*); *cernunt* governs three questions (*quae* ... *cur* ... *num*); the first question lacks a verb (supply *sit* or *sint*), the third question lacks a subject and a finite verb (supply *hostis*, inferred from the context, and *sit*). The Argonauts remain in a state of uncertainty until (*donec*) a lance hitting their ship provokes them into action. Gärtner (2010: 215-16) proposes avoiding both the assumption of a lacuna and the duplication of ideas by reading *peruigil astus*, understood as a poetic variant of *nocturnus dolus*: this collocation is not attested elsewhere, and the reading would imply that the Argonauts envisage 'deceit' or 'trickery', which is not otherwise mentioned.

76 micent suggests that the darkness is not complete, but that there are flashes of light allowing the Argonauts to understand that their opponents are armed. **num peruigil armis**: that the Argonauts wonder whether there is constant fighting through the night highlights the unusual situation of a night-time battle.

78 hasta: for a single weapon-throw marking the start of a battle see e.g. Virg. *Aen.* 5.496-7, 9.52-3, 12.266-70, Luc. 7.472-3. Typically the person responsible is identified; here, in line with the confusion of the fighters, the origin of the lance remains unclear. That the main action provoking further development is given in the subordinate clause ('inverse *donec*': G-L §571 n. 6) leads to a dynamic presentation. For the phrasing cf. e.g. Liv. Andron. *Od.* 43-4 W. *at celer* | *hasta uolans perrumpit pectora ferro*, Virg. *Aen.* 9.411 *hasta uolans noctis diuerberat umbras*, 12.270. **turbine**: the whirling motion of the lance (*OLD turbo*² 4a; cf. 243, Virg. *Aen.* 11.284 *quo turbine torqueat hastam*); for *immani turbine* cf. Virg. *Aen.* 6.594. **transtris** 'rower's seats', 'thwarts'.

79 ratem: i.e. the Argo's crew. While such metonymical expressions are frequent, this particular one (not noted in *OLD*) seems to be rare and is not attested before VF (Kleywegt 1986: 2469). A similar metonymy is *remis* for 'rowers' at 7.25 (Fletcher 1987: 133).

79–80 caeca | ... **manu: caeca** (transferred epithet) indicates that the Argonauts do not see what they are doing and grab any weapons that they come across.

81 uociferans: for this word at the beginning of a line, followed by direct or indirect speech, cf. e.g. Virg. *Aen.* 7.390, 12.95. **primam ... pugnam:** Jason is unaware that his father has died since the Argonauts left Iolcos (1.700–851, 2.1–5; see 301–2n.); he also does not know that this battle will not be a glorious one, which creates tragic irony (see Gärtner 1994: 104, Ferenczi 1995: 150). In VF Jason is depicted as a young man; thus this could be his first battle ever. However, he has won renown prior to the start of the epic narrative, which frightens Pelias (1.29–30); he is characterized as more experienced than Pelias' son Acastus (1.177–8); and he is no longer a boy like Hylas, who engages in warfare for the first time (182–5 with nn.). Therefore the characterization as the 'first' battle could be relative and refer to the first battle during the first voyage across the open sea (1.1–4); this would establish a link to the battle in Colchis. Jason's 'first' battle will be Cyzicus' last (64), in a different sense than intended by Jason when he offers help against Cyzicus' enemies (2.662).

82 affore credite Colchos: Jason asks his men to 'imagine' that the Colchians will be here (*OLD adsum* 9 'to be present (implying previous absence), to have come. b (w. destination indicated)'). He does not tell them that they are fighting the Colchians, which would suggest that he believes that the Argonauts have landed in Colchis (thus apparently Shey 1968: 89, Ferenczi 1995: 150, Timonen 1998: 166); and his words do not reveal his actual views on the opponents' identity. By suggesting that the Argonauts should regard the fight against the Colchians as about to take place (hence the future), Jason tries to incite his men to courageous fighting (for different views on whether the infinitive is a true future see Samuelsson 1899: 48, Watt 1984: 164, Spaltenstein – Watt's conjecture of *nunc* for *huc* seems too radical a solution). Spaltenstein considers that the phrase may imply that Colchis will be reached once this obstacle is overcome. Such a close connection is unlikely, but the remark is another hint that the battle on Cyzicus foreshadows the fighting in Colchis (see Intro. 2.4, 1–461n.).

83–5 Bistonas ... | ... | ... deum: this simile (introduced by postponed *ceu*) is the first to compare Jason to the war god Mars, here jumping towards an attack (see Shelton 1971: 116, Gärtner 1994: 102–5, Fucecchi 2002: 52, 2004: 126–9). After his third and last fight in the poem (i.e. after the battle against Perses and the struggle with the bulls in Colchis), Jason is again compared to Mars, this time to the god leaving

battle (7.644–8; cf. also 8.228–9). This distribution provides a framework and has the three separate combats appear as elements of a single process: all require a huge effort, but they do not lead immediately to positive results (see Ferenczi 1995: 154, Fucecchi 2004: 126). The present simile also corresponds to the simile describing Cyzicus as he makes his way into battle (65–9 with nn.). Mars' paradoxical behaviour is a fitting illustration, since Jason is rushing eagerly against people he loves. The simile need not include a verdict on Jason's character, as he does not know the circumstances (but see Gärtner 1994: 102–3). **Bistonas:** the Bistones (Greek form of the accusative) are a Thracian people, considered to be warlike and devotees of Mars; the founder, Biston, is sometimes regarded as a son or grandson of Mars. While Roman poets often use this name for 'Thracian', the reference in connection with Mars is probably more specific: Mars was said to have attacked the Bistones although he loved them and their fighting spirit (Luc. 7.569, Stat. *Theb.* 3.220–1, 7.6–14, Sil. 1.433–6). A double simile in Lucan refers to Mars among the Bistones and Bellona (Luc. 7.568–9 *sanguineum ueluti quatiens Bellona flagellum, | Bistonas aut Mauors agilians*). **ceu:** a primarily poetic word, introducing similes and other comparisons (e.g. 101, 281, 577, 654); on its use in VF see Samuelsson 1899: 92–3. **astris** 'from the sky' (*OLD* 4), ablative of the starting point with *exsilit*. **currus:** for Mars' chariot cf. 6.6 *impulit* (i.e. *Gradiuus*) *hinc currus*. **ingentes animae** 'great souls (i.e. for fighting)' (*OLD anima* 8). **tubaeque | sanguineae** 'blood-stained war trumpets', metaphorically indicating the fierceness of war (*OLD sanguineus* 2). **iuuere:** cf. Sil. 9. 553–5 *nec uetitis luclatus ablit Gradiuus in altis | cum fremitu nubes, quamquam lituique tubaeque | uulneraque et sanguis et clamor et arma iuuarent*, also Hor. *Carm.* 1.2.38–40.

86 furens: applied to Jason entering battle, just as to Cyzicus (71). Since Cyzicus is also characterized as *demens*, owing to the influence of Bellona (63) and compared to mythical figures out of their minds (65–9), the emphasis is different: with respect to Jason it is the fury of battle. **uis omnis** 'the entire force' (*OLD uis* 8a). **Achium:** another of the terms employed for the Argonauts (see 27–8, 74nn.), identifying them as 'Greeks'. In book 3 this term is only used here in the context of the start of a battle against an Asian people (see Intro. 2.4, 1–461n.).

87 agglomerant latera 'they close the ranks', lit. 'they join their sides together'. *agglomerare* (cf. 2.171, 197, 499) is first attested in Virgil's *Aeneid* (2.339–41 *addunt se ... | ... | et lateri agglomerant nostro*, 12.457–8 *densi cuneis se quisque coactis | agglomerant*; cf. Sil. 5.238 *alacres arma agglomerant*).

88–90 aegisono ... | ... | ... **equi**: the first two items are connected by *nec* ... *nec*, while the last two are added by *-que* and also joined to each other by *-que* (for *neque* ... *-que* in the sense of ‘neither ... nor’ see *OLD -que* 1e). **aegisono** ‘sounding with the aegis’, only attested here (cf. also 28 *aerisono*). **dispulerit**: see 55n. **dextra Iouis**: it is not Jupiter’s right hand as such that might affect the fighting formation but the fact that it throws lightning bolts (cf. Virg. G. 1.328–9 *ipse pater ... corusca | fulmina molitur dextra*). **Terrorque Pauorque, | Martis equi**: *Terror* (‘terror’) and *Pauor* (‘fear’) appear here as the names of the horses of Mars. While these entities (frequently personified) are often mentioned in connection with Mars, they are not normally defined as his horses. The reason for this is seen in a misinterpretation of the Homeric lines (*Il.* 15.119–20; see also [Hes.] *Sc.* 195–6) ‘he ordered Deimos (‘terror’) and Phobos (‘fear’) to yoke the horses’ (see e.g. Fuà 1988: 49), attested in the exegetical tradition (cf. Antimachus, F 37 Wyss, at Σ Hom. *Il.* 4.439–40, Serv. ad Virg. G. 3.91). For the horses of Mars cf. Virg. G. 3.91 *Martis equi biuuges*, for companions of Mars cf. Virg. *Aen.* 12.335–6 *circumque atrae Formidinis ora | Iraeque Insidiaequae, dei comitatus, aguntur*, for *Pauor* and *Terror* as companions of Tisiphone cf. Ov. *Mel.* 4.485.

90 contextis umbonibus: a closely packed fighting formation (87), where not only the cuirasses but also the shields touch each other. *umbo* (only here in VF) lit. means ‘boss of a shield’ (*OLD* 1) but may refer to the entire shield (*pars pro toto*). Joining the shields closely together is a tactic already mentioned in Homer’s *Iliad* (*Il.* 16.211–17) and then in Latin literature (Luc. 7.493, Juv. 2.46). Later the close fighting formation is broken up (1.47 *rupta testudine*).

91 caeruleo ... agmine nubem ‘a cloud as a large dark mass’. This expression (a noun defined by an ablative of quality) describes a huge, dark cloud suggesting bad weather (*OLD agmen* 2, *caeruleus* 9b) and refers to the cloud’s sheer mass (cf. Lucr. 6.100 *ubicumque magis denso sunt agmine nubes*). **ueluti cum**: a simile describing a weather phenomenon illustrates the dense appearance of the Argonauts causing fear; since military imagery and vocabulary appear in the simile, the two spheres are brought closely together (see Shelton 1971: 117–18). Similar similes apply to the movement of a large mass in Homer’s *Iliad* (4.274–82) and the approach of a densely gathered force in Virgil’s *Aeneid* (12.451–8). In Virgil *agmen* refers to the fighters, and the basic idea is that of an advancing storm cloud; therefore the humans are depicted as long foreseeing the damage to happen (12.452–4). In line with the confusion in VF, the simile stresses the uncertainty of where the disaster will occur; it also emphasizes the compactness of the fighters rather than their approach, which might be inspired by the Homeric version. This comparison of the Argonauts to a

threatening weather phenomenon caused by Jupiter is balanced by another simile at the end of the episode (465–7), when the Argonauts’ newly restored spirits are compared to Jupiter’s bringing back clear sky. A simile about specific winds clashing also illustrates the night-time fighting in Virgil’s *Aeneid* (2.416–20).

92–3 zephyri ... | ... **notus**: *zephyrus* is the mild and warm west wind, *notus* is the rainy south wind (for winds battling cf. 1.610–13, 639–40). The impact of each wind is described differently and separately; this probably indicates that the cloud is beaten by winds from various sides without any effect. The plural *zephyri* presumably refers to several gusts (G–L §204 n. 6). **rigentem** ‘stiff, rigid’ (*OLD rigens* 1) rather than ‘unmoved’, as the latter notion is implied by *frustra*.

93–4 longo | ... **metu** ‘for a long time in fear’ (cf. 738–9); adjective for adverb because of the combination with a descriptive ablative. For the general idea cf. Virg. *Aen.* 12.452–3 *praescia longe | horrescunt corda agricolis*.

94 illa: i.e. the cloud (91), subject of both parts of the relative clause, with the verb *incidat*.

E. Battle between the Argonauts and the people of Cyzicus (95–248)

The battle narrative consists of a series of brief scenes and culminates in Cyzicus’ death (see also Raabe 1974: 176–7). The corresponding passage in AR is much shorter: after introductory remarks it proceeds to Cyzicus’ death, then reports the deaths of a few further inhabitants of Cyzicus and finishes when the remaining ones have turned to flight (1.1025–52). VF omits another battle against earth-born men (AR 1.989–1011) and instead has a full-scale battle between the Argonauts and the people of Cyzicus. *AO* has a combination of the battle with earth-born men and a night-time battle (512–25).

The first section in VF presents a series of single Argonautic warriors and their different forms of success (95–211); roughly in the middle (150–60) Jason is introduced as a confident leader in an *aristeia*; at the end it is stated that the slaughter gets worse the longer the night lasts (206–11). Another address to the Muses by the poet (212–19; cf. 14–18) separates the description of general fighting from that of Cyzicus’ death at the hands of Jason (220–42); a few final comments then conclude the battle narrative (243–8) as Jupiter terminates the fighting (249–53; see Happle 1957: 103–4, Schenk 1999: 255).

Several details recall the night-time battle in Troy as presented in Virgil’s *Aeneid* 2 (2.250–804): one party first leaves and then returns by ship to the well-known shore (2.256); there is (deliberate) confusion

about identity as a Greek regards the Trojans as Greeks, they then overwhelm him, and the Trojans put on Greek armour and go on to kill Greek fighters (2.370–98); the appearance of darkness and light influences the course of the battle (2.250–5, 340, 360, 397, 420); the description of the battle is placed between the friendly reception by the host (Dido) and her death; it is the first battle in which the main protagonist is involved on his way to achieving the destined ultimate goal. Significant differences from VF are: in the *Aeneid* the battle is narrated by a character, the opponents return on purpose and are actual enemies, and both parties (apart from one brief scene) know the identity of the other party (on VF and Virgil see Schenk 1999: 215–18, 247–57). There are also similarities in wording and motifs to *Aeneid* 9: the battle between Trojans and Latins is provoked by divine influence; it starts with an address to the Muses leading to a flash-back involving Cybele; night-time fighting is followed by a speech of grief by a female relative; there is abuse of fighters accused of womanish behaviour; a young fighter has his first success in war, but will no longer be involved in the fighting afterwards.

Because the names of some of the fighters are identical (see 98–9, 111–12, 117–18, 138–49, 138, 177–8nn.), the description of the battle between Centaurs and Lapiths in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (12.210–458) is evoked, another battle developing from a friendly dinner. With its overtones of civil war the battle in VF is further reminiscent of Lucan (see McGuire 1997: 108–12). The Argonauts and the people of Cyzicus are linked as hosts and guests (cf. 14–18) and thus have a relationship of 'created kinship' (Bernstein 2008: 52). Moreover, in some ancient sources (transmitted in scholiasts to AR) the population of Cyzicus is described as Pelasgian exiles from Thessaly (Deiochos, *FGrH* 471 F 7–8, Ephoros, *FGrH* / *BNJ* 70 F 61, Conon, *Narr.* 41): then the Argonauts and the people of Cyzicus would essentially have the same background, intensifying the civil war motif (see Scaffai 1997: 47–8). However, elsewhere in VF the Argonauts are called 'Pelasgians' (5.116, 473–6, 682), and the term is applied to the people who attack Cyzicus (2.656–8) and for whom the Argonauts are mistaken (45). It is therefore unlikely that the inhabitants of Cyzicus are to be seen as Pelasgians too.

In VF a large number of fighters, fifteen Argonauts and thirty-six people from Cyzicus, are mentioned by name, many more than in AR (ten Argonauts and thirteen men from Cyzicus; see also Burck (1970) 1981: 545). While there is some overlap between the Argonauts named in VF and AR, this does not apply to the men from Cyzicus: most of their names are not attested in the Argonautic tradition (some names are known for other individuals from the ancient world and several are based on names of rivers). Both these names and what VF says about each person's fate make the people of Cyzicus appear not as a large, anonymous mass but

rather as humans to be pitied (esp. 116, 177–8). Furthermore, VF often creates memorable vignettes for individual fighters (see Dinter 2009). During this battle only people from Cyzicus die, even though the Argonauts, while introduced as sons of gods (1.1), are not generally immune from death (cf. Idmon: 1.238b–9, 360–1, 5.2–3, Tiphys: 5.13–29, Canthus: 1.451–2, 6.317–42, 7.422, Iphis: 1.441–3, 7.423). Of the fighters from Cyzicus mentioned by name only Erymus survives, because he is a hunter and Luna/Diana has pity for him (193–7).

The style of the battle narrative can be defined as mannered (see Burck (1970) 1981: 549, 1971: esp. 29, Raabe 1974: 194). The presentation is varied by the multitude of ways in which warriors confront and kill each other, including unusual and unexpected perspectives. VF creates special effects by using the possibilities of a confrontation of hosts and guests and a battle at night, rare in Roman epic (see Burck 1970: 537). The motif of light and darkness (along with the contrast of noise and silence) is exploited (on the role of night in VF see Venini 1972: 14–19, Gärtner 1998): darkness makes the fighting more terrible and prevents warriors from recognizing their opponents; sudden flashes of light save some while they lead to quicker or more horrible deaths for others (cf. Nisus and Euryalus at Virg. *Aen.* 9.373–4). The vividness of the narrative is enhanced by the large number of similes (101–2, 108–10, 130–2, 163–5, 208–9, 224–8; see Shelton 1971: 116–26 *passim*, Fitch 1976: 120–1 and n. 19, Gärtner 1994: 129, 273) and the insertion of direct speech.

1. First skirmishes (95–112)

The battle narrative starts with both sides approaching and the first encounters between single fighters. The introductory description (95–8) corresponds to a similar section at the end (243–8; see Schenk 1999: 217–18 n. 286). Generally, VF focuses on the atmosphere and the feelings of the combatants. Characteristics of both sides are reinforced: the Argonauts await the fighting arranged in closed ranks and only react when a good opportunity for fighting appears (97–8, 108–11; cf. 78–80, 86–94). The people from Cyzicus run against them without a particular order, eagerly trying to ward off the 'invaders' (95–6, 108–11).

The juxtaposition of the two sides frames the first combat between individual warriors (98–107): three Argonauts notice and eventually overwhelm the Cyzican Corythus. The first victim is a notable warrior of huge size; that he stands out because of his starry armour introduces the motif of light and shadow. The deadly blow is struck by Tydeus, an Argonaut only in VF (see 103n.) and known to have been involved in (future) fratricidal battles at Thebes; this background may be indicative of the internecine nature of this conflict.

95 hinc indicates the move to a new phase (*OLD* 4 ‘following on this, next’). **manus infelix**: i.e. the people of Cyzicus, like Cyzicus himself (26, 4.441; see 26n.). **clamore** ‘battle cry’ (*OLD* 3a; see 58n.). **impellere**: a historic infinitive (see 63n.). *impellere saxa* is an unusual collocation for ‘throwing stones’ (but cf. Stat. *Theb.* 5.558–9 *rapit ingenti conamine saxum*, | ... *uacuasque impellit in auras*); however, the verb is attested with other weapons (*OLD* 2c). For a similar medley of weapons hurled cf. Luc. 7.512–13 *inde faces et saxa uolant spatioque solutae | aeris et calido liquefactae pondere glandes*.

96 facesque atras ‘murky torches’ (*OLD* *ater* 5a; cf. Virg. *Aen.* 9.74; [Sen.] *Oct.* 118). **tortae pondera fundae**: lit. ‘weights of the twisted sling’, i.e. heavy items thrown with a sling (cf. Prop. 4.3.65 *plumbea cum tortae sparguntur pondera fundae*).

97 immota phalanx: i.e. the Argonauts. Their description as a *phalanx* (‘dense body of fighting men’) indicates that they stand closely together (cf. 87–94) and does not denote a ‘*phalanx*’ in the technical sense (for a loose use of *phalanx* cf. 1.436, 7.613, Virg. *Aen.* 2.254, 6.489, 12.277). The first verb going with this noun (subject) is in the singular, observing the grammatical number of *phalanx*; the second verb is in the plural in a construction according to sense (see G–L §211 r. 1; see 267, 272, 278–9nn.): it focuses on the emotions of the men making up the battle line rather than on their collective appearance. **irasque** ‘battle rage’ (*OLD* 1f).

98 congeries ... fluat: the Argonauts remain unmoved until the force of the first attack has subsided (*OLD* *fluo* 7 ‘to ebb, fail’). The great number of weapons hurled creates a ‘mass’ (*OLD* *congeries* 1, where this phrase is listed as ‘(poet.)’).

98–9 stellantia ... | tegmina et ingentem ... umbram: a flash of light falls on a fighter and reveals him to his opponents. This interpretation allows *umbra* to have its literal meaning of ‘shadow’ rather than ‘silhouette’ (thus Nováková 1964: 41). *tegmina* (poetic plural) refers to the body armour (*OLD* *tegmen* b) rather than the shield of the fighter, since the focus is on the impression made by his person. **Mopsus**: one of the Argo’s seers (1.383–6), as in AR (1.65–6). In both epics Mopsus is instrumental in enabling the Argonauts to continue their journey after the battle (377–458, AR 1.1082–102). In Ovid’s description of the battle of Centaurs and Lapiths Mopsus is both a seer and a fighter (*Mel.* 12.455–8). The name Mopsus appears elsewhere for other characters (cf. Virg. *Ecl.* 5, Stat. *Theb.* 8.151, 9.126, Sil. 2.89, 95, 138; on the mixed tradition on figures named ‘Mopsus’ see Baldriga 1994). **Corythi**: Corythus is a fighter from Cyzicus. The name does not appear elsewhere in VF or AR but is

attested for other individuals (e.g. a young Lapith killed by a Centaur at Ov. *Mel.* 12.290–2). **Eurytus**: one of the Argonauts (cf. 1.438–9, with Zissos *ad loc.*); he is among those who start the rowing contest later in this book (470–1) and is mentioned in the battle in Colchis (6.569). A Centaur of this name appears in Ovid’s *Metamorphoses* (12.220).

100–1 restitit ... gradu ‘he halted in his step’ (*gradu* ablative of respect; see G–L §397). For sudden hesitation of warriors cf. Virg. *Aen.* 11.699. **ille**: it is not immediately clear which of the three warriors mentioned *ille* denotes. In view of the following simile, *ille* is most likely to refer to Corythus: in the same flash of light that illuminated Corythus’ own weapons he must have seen those of his opponents and then stopped when he noticed a sudden unsurmountable obstacle. Tydeus’ announcement that this warrior from Cyzicus will die where he has come to stand (105) creates a link back to his stopping. **seseque a lumine ferri | sustinuit praeceps** ‘suddenly he held himself back from the light of the steel’ (*OLD* *sustineo* 8). For *lumine ferri* cf. Stat. *Theb.* 9.802–3.

101–2 ceu ... | ... ruentem: this simile illustrates stopping when confronted with a sudden and potentially dangerous obstacle (cf. Hom. *Il.* 5.597–9, Virg. *Aen.* 2.378–82). The verbs from the main clause also apply to the simile. *Subitum ... amnem* could be a transferred epithet and mean that the herdsman comes suddenly upon a stream (Lieberman); or, more plausibly, it could be a description of a stream that suddenly appears or is suddenly larger and therefore irritates the approaching herdsman (Spaltenstein). The stream is terrifying because it is swollen and foaming from heavy rainfall (*OLD* *nimbus* 2a), hence it carries uprooted shrubs in its waves. With a view to the assumed meaning and an equal distribution of epithets, it makes more sense to punctuate after *praeceps* and connect this word with *ille* (most editors) rather than linking it with *pastor* (Lieberman).

103 at: the withdrawal of the Cyzican fighter is of no avail, since he is now spotted by the Argonaut Tydeus. **Tydeus** is a well-known mythological character; only in VF does he participate in the Argonautic expedition (cf. 1.387; see e.g. Roscher 1916–24: 1389, Kleywegt 1991: 226 and n. 10, Fucecchi 2007: 20–3, Zissos on 1.387). Metrically, this line is spondaic apart from the fifth foot, rare in VF (see Intro. 2.7).

103–5 ‘en ... | ... | ... loco.’: Tydeus’ exclamation demonstrates his eagerness to attack: although this is the kind of opponent he would have liked to confront in close combat (103–4), he will not wait and rather send a missile and kill him where he stands (105). The juxtaposition is reflected in the punctuation adopted by most editors, with a full stop, semicolon or

colon after *optem* (but see Schenkl 1871: 94, Langen). **intentis ... uiribus** 'with my strength exerted'.

105 subit ilia cuspis: a typical location for a wound in epic (e.g. Virg. *Aen.* 7.499). *subeo* (+ acc.) indicates that the weapon has entered the body (*OLD* 10).

106 Olenii: i.e. Tydeus (cf. Stat. *Theb.* 1.402 *Olenius Tydeus*), called after one of the cities with the name Olenos, sometimes associated with his origin (cf. Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.74; see Roscher 1916–24: 1388–9). The term depends on *cuspis* (105). *Olenius* at 2.163 is the name of an inhabitant of Lemnos. **dedit ille sonum:** that Corythus (see 100–11n.) falls, hit by the weapon, and his own arms make a noise when he falls is expressed in compressed fashion. For the same idea, spelt out more fully, cf. Hom. *Il.* 4.504, 12.395–6, Enn. *Ann.* 417 W. = 411 Sk. *concidit et sonitum simul insuper arma dederunt*, Virg. *Aen.* 10.488 *corruit in uulnus (sonitum super arma dedere)*.

106–7 compressaque mandens | aequora: another expressive phrase: that falling warriors bite the ground with their teeth is common in epic (cf. e.g. Hom. *Il.* 2.418, Virg. *Aen.* 11.668–9, Sil. 5.526–7). VF adds that the ground (*OLD* *aequor* 2) is compressed (*OLD* *comprimo* 1a) by the great weight of the warrior falling upon it (owing to his size, cf. 99).

107 purpuream singultibus expulit hastam 'he drove out the purple-coloured lance with gasps'. The lance is 'purple-coloured' because it is soaked in blood (cf. Virg. *Aen.* 9.349 *purpuream uomit ille animam*); the condensed phrase implies that both the lance and blood are coming out of the wound. For gasping from a wound cf. e.g. Virg. *Aen.* 9.332–3, 415 *longis singultibus ilia pulsant*, Stat. *Theb.* 8.752–3; for the expulsion of weapons from wounds cf. e.g. Ov. *Met.* 6.259 *expulit hanc (sc. sagittam) sanguis*, 13.394 *expulit ipse cruor (sc. telum)*, Luc. 3.590 *utrasque simul largus cruor expulit hastas*, 7.621–2.

108–10 ac uelut ... | ... rates: a simile illustrates the rush into battle at close quarters: the sharp weapons of one side cannot be avoided by the other side who do not see or understand what is going on; this foreshadows the impending disaster for the people of Cyzicus (see 111n.), illustrated immediately by the fate of three fighters (111–12). This is one of several similes in VF including references to seafaring (e.g. 130–2, 577–9, 4.104–7, 268–71, 6.411–12, 664–6, 7.25, 83–6; see Gärtner 1994: 174 and n. 7, 267 and n. 20), even though the Argo is only just opening up the seas to navigation. Yet similes may include 'anachronistic' material, and VF seems to have envisaged small-scale navigation in existence before the Argo's voyage. **rupes ... horrida:** *rupes* here denotes a rock in the

water, while it typically refers to a cliff or crag on the edge of land, which may jut into the water (*OLD* notes the special sense '(applied to a submerged rock)'). *horrida* may have both its literal meaning and connotations of its transferred meaning (*OLD* *horridus* 2 '(of countries, terrain) rough, wild, rugged', 6a 'causing horror, dreadful, horrible'). **quam super:** postponed preposition. **magistri** 'helmsmen': this more poetic term in its Virgilian sense is standard in VF rather than the more prosaic *gubernator* (also at 1.18, 382, 465, 2.391, 3.468, 4.269, 5.66, 210, 7.83, 8.202; see Zissos on 1.17–18). **praecipites:** in view of the word order and an even distribution of attributes, *praecipites* (applied to *magister* at 7.85) is likely to go with *rates* in the sense of 'rushing forward, headlong' (*OLD* 2). This creates an ironic tension with the efforts of the helmsmen to control the ships. **caeco** may refer directly to the fact that the warriors are 'blind' as they cannot see anything in the dark (*OLD* 1a) and/or indicate metaphorically that they are affected by battle rage and therefore act without taking thought (*OLD* 2).

111 incurrit strictis manus ensibus: *manus* refers to the people of Cyzicus, who run against the closed ranks of the Argonauts, *strictis ... ensibus* (dative) representing the men who hold the *enses*.

111–12 occubat 'lies dead' (*OLD* b; cf. Virg. *Aen.* 1.547, 10.706, Stat. *Theb.* 2.574). **Iron:** a person from Cyzicus. Iron who appears during the battle in Colchis (6.201) is a different person. The name is not attested elsewhere. **Cotys:** a fighter from Cyzicus. Otherwise the name is known for kings in Thrace and Asia Minor (e.g. Tac. *Ann.* 2.64–7, 3.38.2–3, 4.5.3, 11.9.2, 12.15.1, 12.18.1). **Pyro ... Bienor:** Bienor and his father Pyrus are two warriors from Cyzicus. The notion that a hero or fighter is 'better' than his father (along with variations) is common in poetry (cf. Hom. *Il.* 15.641, Hor. *Carm.* 1.15.28, Virg. *Aen.* 7.653–4, Sil. 12.346). The name Bienor or Bianor is attested for other figures (Hom. *Il.* 11.92, Virg. *Ecl.* 9.60, Ov. *Met.* 12.345). That the name of the Virgilian character Bianor was connected with 'strength' (cf. Serv. *ad loc.* *quasi animo et corpore fortissimus*, ἀπὸ τῆς βίας καὶ ἡνιπείης) may have suggested the application of the trope to a fighter with a similar name in VF (see also Spaltenstein).

2. Genysus and Medon rushing into battle (113–123)

The narrative switches back to the town. After a sketch of the unrest there (113–14), the fate of two inhabitants, Genysus (114–16) and Medon (117–21), is reported: both are led into battle by flashes of light and rush to the fighting after special efforts to obtain equipment (see 95–248n.). The concluding two lines (122–3) summarize their fate: this

closing image visualizes the universal destructive force of the battle for the people of Cyzicus.

113 at marks a new scene (see 74n.) and thus gives a better sense than the more widely transmitted *et*. **magis** ‘more’ than before (43–73). **interea** frequently links scenes in VF (e.g. 1.574, 2.1, 4.90, 5.259, 8.134) via a vague chronological connection (also at 332, 611, 726; see Zissos on 1.574–5, Hardie on Virg. *Aen.* 9.159). **diuerso** indicates presumably various movements in the town (*OLD* 9; cf. 243). This detail seems inspired by the situation in the town in Virgil’s night-time battle (*Aen.* 2.298 *diuerso interea miscetur moenia luctu*). **turbida**: predicative and proleptic: the town becomes progressively confused and disordered (*OLD* 4a; cf. 125).

114 Genysus ... arma: people hiding the arms of others because they do not want them to join an expedition or enter battle appear elsewhere in epic (cf. e.g. Hom. *Il.* 11.717–18, AR 1.168–71, Virg. *Aen.* 6.523–4); the contexts, motivations and relationships between the characters vary. Closest to this passage is the situation in AR, when a grandfather hides the weapons of his grandson to prevent him from joining the Argonautic voyage, but the grandson sets off all the same, using a bear-skin and an axe as weapons. Here it has to be assumed that Genysus’ wife realizes the situation more quickly than her husband, therefore fears for his life, finds the weapons in the darkness and hides them. The name Genysus is not attested elsewhere.

115–16 subitus uentis uiuoque reluxit | torre focus ‘the hearth suddenly grew bright again, from gusts and a glowing firebrand’. The fire on the hearth had been down during the night, but a piece of firewood had been left glowing (*OLD* *uiuus* 5a); a breeze suddenly lights it up again, thus rekindles the fire and provides light.

116 gaudes, miserande: a direct address to the character in apostrophe. The juxtaposition highlights in tragic irony that finding the weapons will only provoke Genysus’ death (122–3).

117–18 et: a postponed conjunction (see 44n.), adding the narrative about the second character. Medon’s abandonment of the sacrifice shows how eagerly the people of Cyzicus enter battle. The theme of finishing sacrifices occurs elsewhere: earlier Jason’s father Aeson leaves a sacrifice when the hostile king Pelias is approaching (1.755–7). In Virgil’s *Aeneid*, when Aeneas and his men arrive at Pallanteum, the completion of the rites is momentarily threatened (8.109–11). Aeneas is advised for his own religious ceremonies to take precautions so that they may not be disturbed by ‘hostile faces’ (3.406–7). **undantes**: most likely *simplex*

pro composito and equal to *abundantes*: ‘abounding’, i.e. in food and drink (*OLD* *undo* 6; cf. 1.539 *undat equis* with Langen *ad loc.*). **pernox**: lit. ‘continuing throughout the night’, here ‘active at night’. **Medon**: a person from Cyzicus, presumably a priest. Elsewhere Medon is the name of different figures of Greek mythology and history (e.g. an ally of the Trojans at Hom. *Il.* 17.216, Virg. *Aen.* 6.483; a Centaur wounded in the battle with the Lapiths at Ov. *Mel.* 12.303).

118–19 chlamys: Medon turns his cloak, not designed for this purpose (*imbelli*), into makeshift protective armour: ‘his cloak, wrapped round (*OLD* *torqueo* 2a), surrounds his hand with unwarlike purple’ (cf. Pac. *Trag.* 186 R.^{2–3} = 190 W. *currum liquit: clamide contorta astu clupeal braccium*, Petron. *Sat.* 80.2 *intorto circa brachium pallio composui ad proeliandum gradum*, Tac. *Hist.* 5.22.2 *pauci ornatu militari, plerique circum brachia torta ueste et strictis mucronibus*). **uias praefulgurat** ‘he illuminates the paths in front of him’ (*OLD* *praefulguro* ‘to flash forth; (tr.) to illuminate with flashes ahead of one’); a rare verb, with *uias* as object (Spaltenstein, Merone 1957: 21–2; rather than *OLD*: ‘(w. acc. of extent)’). The drawn sword gleams in the darkness, like the armour of the warrior Corythus (98–100), so lighting up the paths and leading the fighter into battle (cf. Stat. *Theb.* 7.502 *multoque latus praefulgurat ense*, 12.732). **ense**: Medon does not have body armour but carries a sword (on priestly figures with swords see also 406n.).

120 talis in arma ruit: *talis* emphasizes the peculiar gear in which Medon joins the battle; *arma* must have the general sense of ‘fighting’, but also alludes to the contrast between normal weapons and Medon’s equipment (cf. Luc. 3.37 *maior in arma ruit*). **nec uina dapesque remota**: supply *sunt*. The participle is in the neuter plural because it is based on the ‘strongest’ (rather than on the ‘nearest’) gender, which is neuter for ‘things without life’ (G–L §286).

121 torus ‘banqueting couch’, on which Medon was reclining for the meal (cf. Virg. *Aen.* 2.2). **inque omen** ‘for a (bad) omen’. Caussin’s conjecture is probably the best restoration of the corrupt text (*in quo omen*), based on a similar phrase (though with different construction and meaning) in Virgil’s *Aeneid* (12.853–4 *harum unam celerem demisit ab aethere summo | Iuppiter inque omen Iulurnae occurrere iussit*): when Medon leaves, servants remain behind and thus indicate the interrupted activity, foreboding ill.

122–3 uagi: sc. Genysus and Medon (‘moving in different directions’), who form the (unexpressed) subject. **tela ... | conseruere manu** ‘they joined weapons with their hands in close fighting’. More common idioms are *manus conserere* or *pugnam conserere*, and there is no real parallel for

tela conserere (OLD *consero*² 4b 'to engage (weapons, forces) in battle'; cf. 6.182 *consertis ... telis*). *manu conserere* is equally unusual (Liberman explains it as equivalent to *certare manu*). Attempts to remove it include reading *manus* for *manu* (Ehlers tentatively in app., after Fontius: *manus longe et*) or taking *et* as postponed and construing *manu* with *perempti* (Spaltenstein). But *manu* can be defended as moved to the ablative after *tela* has replaced it as the expected object. *longe* 'far off', i.e. 'far apart from each other'.

3. Hercules fighting with the bow versus Phlegyas (124-137)

With a marker of a new, visually impressive scene (124 *ecce*; see 6on.), the narrative turns to the Cyzican Phlegyas (124-37); like the previous two fighters, he carries special fighting equipment, in this case a torch. Since Phlegyas comes down from the town (125), the scene parallels the preceding one, which started with a return to the town and then followed the path of two men into battle (113-23). Phlegyas' opponent, Hercules, is identified and characterized as he kills him with bow and arrow in a fiery blast (see 95-248n.). Thus the focus switches back to events on the battlefield and the Argonauts.

Hercules (see Intro. 3.3) is the only warrior (apart from Jason) who has two appearances in the battle narrative (cf. 161-72), distinguished by the use of different weapons (on Hercules as archer see Hom. *Il.* 5.392-7, *Od.* 11.607-8, Hes. *f* 33a.25-9 M.-W.). In AR he kills two fighters from Cyzicus (Telecles and Megabrontes), with the means not specified (1.1040-1). Since Phlegyas carries an enormous torch, appears terrifyingly large and has successfully put Pelasgian fighters to flight in the past (126-8 with nn.), he appears as a worthy opponent for the valiant Hercules.

124-5 grauem nodis pinguique bitumine quassans | lampada: this description of Phlegyas' torch recalls characteristics of Hercules' club (cf. 2.534 *uastos nodosi roboris ictus*, Virg. *Aen.* 8.220-1 *nodisque grauatum | robur*). For *quassans | lampada* cf. similar phrases in connection with Absyrtus' fighting the Argonauts (8.262-3 *lampada ... | concutiens*, 276 *quasso ... ignem*, 278 *quatiorque hanc lampada*) and with Venus (2.196 *Venus quassans undantem turbine pinum*); also 1.841, Virg. *Aen.* 6.587, Stat. *Theb.* 10.283, Sil. 2.667.

125 turbata: for this atmosphere in town cf. 113-14 *turbida ... | urbs*. **Phlegyas:** the name can be connected with the Greek verb φλέγω ('shine'). Elsewhere in Roman epic it is the name of a sinner punished in the underworld (cf. 2.192-5, Virg. *Aen.* 6.618-20, Stat. *Theb.* 1.712-15). This creates a link to the subsequent Typhon simile (130-2). **ab urbe:** similar, though slightly different wording appears in Virgil's *Aeneid* (2.41 *Laocoon ardens summa decurrit ab arce*), which may explain the reading *arce* in some manuscripts.

126-7 ille ... | ... ratus: the delusion affecting all inhabitants of Cyzicus is made explicit: Phlegyas believes that their usual enemies, the Pelasgians, have returned (2.656-8, 3.45).

126 leues ... manus aciemque: lit. 'light-armed troops and battle line', presumably a hendiadys for 'light-armed troops ready for battle'. That the Pelasgians send *acies* at night was mentioned by Cyzicus (2.657). *leues ... manus* may indicate that the Pelasgians, arriving by ship, are light-armed (OLD *leuis* 4b).

127-8 pulsumque requirens | saepe sibi ... Thamyrum ... petebat 'he, looking for Thamyros, often driven back by him, is trying to attack him' (OLD *peto* 2; imperfect because of an attempted action; see G-L §232). **uano ... clamore:** because Thamyros is not present. **Thamyrum:** Thamyros is a Pelasgian. The name appears in Virgil's *Aeneid* for a fighter killed by Turnus (12.341).

129 arduus 'tall, lofty, high, towering' (OLD 1). **late fumanti nube coruscus:** 'gleaming widely with a cloud of smoke' may sound paradoxical, but in VF's condensed style this again expresses a contrast of darkness and light: Phlegyas' torch produces light over a wide area, but also emits smoke (cf. 96 *facesque atras*, 7.566 *ardentes ... tenebras*; cf. Virg. *Aen.* 3.572-3 *nubem | turbine fumantem piceo et candente fauilla*).

130-2 quantus ... | ... puppes: the simile illustrates Phlegyas' terrifying appearance, on account of his size and the light he is spreading widely (on similes in VF with references to seafaring see 108-10n.; for other Typhon similes in VF cf. 4.236-8, 6.169-70). **quantus ubi:** *quantus* introduces the simile and agrees with Typhon; *est* has to be supplied, and this clause governs the *ubi*-clause. **prospexit ab aethere:** cf. 558-9 *Cynthia caelo | prospicit*. **Typhon:** a monstrous giant (cf. *Coeus* at 224), a son of Tartarus and Gaia, who fought Jupiter and other gods until eventually overcome. His name (also appearing in other forms, e.g. Typhoeus) was also given to strong whirlwinds (on the mythical figure cf. e.g. Hom. *Il.* 2.781-3, Hes. *Theog.* 306-7, 820-2, 869-71, Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.39-44; on the weather phenomenon cf. e.g. Plin. *HN* 2.91, 2.131, Gell. *NA* 19.1.3, Apul. *Mund.* 15.322). Here Typhon is envisaged as both a natural force and a person. That Jupiter holds him by the hair is not attested elsewhere. In book 2 VF refers to the battle between the gods and the giants and reports that Typhoeus 'lies crushed beneath Sicilian soil', where he is still responsible for volcanic eruptions (2.23-33); in the process of removing Typhoeus to Sicily 'Neptune grasped him by the hair' (2.26). Typhon's description as 'red with fire and winds at the same time' (131) in a zeugmatic construction (Garson 1970: 183) alludes to his two key characteristics and could be an image of a volcanic

eruption. **trepidant** ... **puppae**: the ships are personified or stand for the crew (cf. 1.622–3 *pavidam* ... | *ante ratem*, Luc. 5.568 *rector trepidae* ... *ralis*; see 52n.); cf. Virg. *Aen.* 7.9 *splendet tremulo sub lumine pontus*.

133–4 hinc ‘from this place, hence, from here’. **Tirynthius**: an epithet or paraphrase for Hercules in Latin literature from Virgil onwards (Virg. *Aen.* 7.662, 8.228; cf. e.g. VF 3.161, 485, 565, 590), from the city of Tiryns (in the south of the Argolis), where Hercules’ origin was sometimes located and to which his labours for Eurystheus were often connected (cf. Stat. *Silu.* 4.6.17, Diod. Sic. 4.9–10, Serv. ad Virg. *Aen.* 7.662, Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.4.12; see Zissos on 1.107–8). † **arcu** †, | **pectore**: the transmitted *arcu* could be explained as a marginal gloss that has entered the text, added to indicate that in this section Hercules fights with the bow. *acri* | *pectore* (Heinsius) would then be an easy change. However, this yields a collocation not attested in classical Latin, though it may be compared to expressions such as *acri animo* (e.g. Cic. *Fin.* 1.57, Quint. *Inst.* 6.4.8). None of the proposed conjectures (with changes to various words in these lines) is entirely convincing. **certa** ... **flamma**: Hercules sends an arrow (*spicula*; metonymy and poetic plural) unerring (*certa*) because of the flame (*flamma*) in front of him (*aduersa*). Kleywegt (1986: 2456) interprets the ablative as an unusual ablative of direction, which seems too abnormal even for VF.

135–6 per piceos ... | ... **fugit**: the arrow is envisaged as going through the masses of pitch on Phlegyas’ torch (124–5), catching fire and then running through the middle of his chest. **contenta** applied to an arrow illustrates the force and speed of the weapon, in connection with *fugit*, in the looser sense of ‘shot vigorously’ (*OLD contendo* 2; cf. Virg. *Aen.* 10.521 *inde Mago procul infensam contenderat hastam*).

136–7 ruit ille ... | ... **ignis**: the impact on Phlegyas, when the arrow hits him, is added asyndetically. The perspective does not focus on his fate, but develops the role of light and fire: Phlegyas falls with his hairy head on the torch, adding fuel to the fire (cf. Virg. *Aen.* 12.298–301).

4. Nestor in the midst of other fighters (138–149)

Fronted names indicate the change of focus: an appearance of Nestor (143–7; see 143–5n.) is framed by the deeds of two Argonauts (Peleus and Ancaeus; Phlias and Pollux) on either side (138–42, 148–9), linked by the theme of dealing with booty and fighting successfully.

Like Nestor in Homer’s *Iliad* 6 (6.67–71; see Barnes 1981: 366), this Nestor admonishes his companions to leave the spoils and to carry on with the killing. Nestor participates in the Argonautic expedition only in VF (1.380–2, 6.569–70; contrast Quint. Smyrn. 12.259–73; see e.g. Kleywegt

1991: 226 and n. 10, Fucecchi 2007: 20–3, Zissos on 1.380–2). This Nestor is apparently younger than the Nestor in Homer (cf. also Ov. *Met.* 8.313 *primis etiamnum Nestor in annis*; cf. also his participation in the battle of Lapiths and Centaurs at Ov. *Met.* 12.383–6). Hence, while Nestor fulfils his Homeric role as an old adviser (even at a young age), he appropriately takes part in the battle (see Ripoll 2003: 673).

Since Nestor asks his companions to attack ‘scattered squadrons’, and the Argonauts then break up their defence formation and continue fighting wherever they are (146–8), Nestor’s intervention marks the transition from fighting in ranks (86–94) to individual combat, although what have been narrated so far have also been mainly individual encounters. Still, this indicates an intensification of the battle, which prepares Jason’s appearance (150–60).

138 Ambrosium: the name of this fighter from Cyzicus may recall the Greek word ἀμβρόσιος (‘immortal’), a characteristic not applying here. **Peleus** ... **Ancaeus**: for these two Argonauts cf. 1.255–70, 403–4 (with Zissos on 1.403–6) and 1.190–2, 413–14, 377, 5.64. Since one of two Ancaei, Lycurgus’ son, is characterized by a ‘huge two-edged battle-axe’ in AR (1.163–71, 425–31, 2.118–21; cf. also VF 1.191–2), he is likely to be the Ancaeus mentioned here (cf. 140). Peleus (see Kleywegt 1991: 228) also appears in the brief narrative of the battle in AR, where he kills two fighters (Zelys and Gephyros), like Hercules (1.1042; see Dräger 2004: 41–3). **Echeclum**: Echeclus is a warrior from Cyzicus. The name is attested for heroes in Homer (*Il.* 20.474, 16.694) and Ovid (*Met.* 12.450). These occurrences confirm the required and generally accepted light emendation of the transmitted text.

140 Telecoonta: Telecoon is another fighter from Cyzicus (with the name lightly emended for metrical reasons). The name does not appear elsewhere in Greek or Latin literature; its formation mirrors that of the well-known name Laocoon. Since the details given about Telecoon’s death include information about his armour, this provides a transition to the topic of booty. **librataque** ... **securi**: the transmitted *delicataque* does not scan or make good sense. Of the various suggestions Shackleton Bailey’s (1977: 204) *librataque* is the best (cf. Stat. *Theb.* 8.487–8 *ignaro cui tunc Thebana bipennis* | *in galeam librata uenit*; Sil. 2.622 *librans* ... *securim*). For the action cf. Virg. *Aen.* 12.306–8.

141–2 aspera ... | **cingula** ‘embossed belt’, ‘belt adorned with decorations’. For *asper* (*OLD* 2a) cf. 5.578 *nodis* ... *balleus asper*, Prop. 2.6.17–18, Sil. 11.277–8, Juv. 14.62. **sublustri** ... **umbra** ‘in the dim shadow (of the night)’: condensed expression (*OLD sublustris*, *umbra* 6), equivalent to a fuller phrase as in Virgil (*Aen.* 9.373 *sublustri noctis in umbra*) or a more

straightforward combination as in Horace (*Carm.* 3.27.31 *nocte subluetri*). The limited light in the darkness of the night is sufficient to reveal the decorated belt as ‘glittering’ (*OLD uibro* 6).

143–5 ‘has ... | ... | ... *opus!*’ in the first part of this utterance Nestor addresses his companions (second person plural imperative). Nestor discourages them from claiming the booty and suggests carrying on fighting in the second half of his exclamation. Here *ferro* is repeated for heightened emphasis. *mihi* (144) seems to be a *datiuus ethicus*, which expresses a person’s special interest in the action (G–L §351); along with *dextera* in the singular, it equals ‘my right hand’: this ‘younger’ Nestor actively takes part in the battle. Spaltenstein denies this restricted sense (equivalent to *mea dextera*), preferring a generic singular, and thus refers the phrase to all warriors; this is less likely since Nestor’s action is described in what follows. **<et>**: for metrical reasons a syllable has to be added; this supplement (already found in early editions) links the two objects. **opima cadauera**: lit. ‘rich corpses’, i.e. ‘corpses offering rich spoils’. **Nestor**: an emendation (of the transmitted *nostro*), accepted since the earliest editions because of the Homeric parallel (see 138–49n.). The word must mention the person who is the subject, this is most likely a personal name, and *Nestor* is palaeographically close. Summers (1894: 72–3) suggests *ductor* or *rector* referring to Jason, *nostro* having arisen from a gloss *Nestor*. However, if Jason was introduced here, this would diminish his subsequent *aristeia* (150–60). **nauet opus** ‘it shall be busy at work’; a rare collocation (only attested at Cic. *Att.* 9.11.2 *utinam aliquod in hac miseria rei publicae πολιτικὸν opus efficere et nauare mihi liceat!*).

145 Amastrum: another warrior from Cyzicus. Amastrus appears as the name of a fighter in Virgil’s *Aeneid* (11.673–4).

146 diuersasque ... turmas: *turmae* (‘squadrons’) is a rather technical description for the impromptu fighting of the people of Cyzicus, who are now scattered. The word *socios* and the formal ambiguity of the two accusatives (subject or object) may be an implicit reminder that friends are fighting against each other.

147 rupta testudine: the closed ranks of the Argonauts (87–94) are broken up: they follow Nestor’s commands (146–7) and pursue the opponents individually (see 138–49n.). The word *testudo*, a technical term for a particular Roman fighting formation, has the Argonauts’ approach to battle appear as coordinated and planned.

148 tenebrae campique: hendiadys, equivalent to ‘dark plains’, ‘shadowy plains’.

148–9 grauis with reference to a fighter probably includes the notions of both ‘(of parts of the body, w. added notion of strength) massive’ and ‘(of persons) relentless, stern, harsh unsparing’ (*OLD* 1b, 11). **inuenit ... | ... impingitur** emphasize the chance encounters in the dark. **Ochum** | ... **Hebro**: Ochus and Hebrus are two fighters from Cyzicus. The initial syllable of Ochus is long, as it is when this name is applied to a river in Bactria; otherwise the name is attested as an additional name for members of the Achaemenid dynasty (e.g. Diod. Sic. 15.93.1, 16.40.4). Hebrus appears as the name of a fighter at Virg. *Aen.* 10.696, of a young man at Hor. *Carm.* 3.12.8 and of another fighter at VF 6.618, and is also the name of a river in Thrace. **Phlias**: for this Argonaut cf. 1.411–12 (with Zissos on 1.411–12), AR 1.115–17. **Pollux**: one of the Dioscuri brothers, who has another, more prominent appearance later in the battle (186–97 with nn.). Pollux is the only Argonaut, besides Hercules (124–37, 161–72) and Jason (150–60, 239–41), who is mentioned twice in the battle narrative.

5. Jason (150–160)

This section focuses on an individual, with *ipse* emphatically placed at the beginning of the first line (150): thus, even before he is identified by *dux campi Martisque potens* at the beginning of the next line (151), it is clear that this is the leader Jason. After his mention at the start (80–6), Jason comes into view again roughly in the middle of the battle narrative, after his path into battle has been sketched (80–6) and before he will be shown killing king Cyzicus (220–42). In AR’s battle narrative Jason is only mentioned in connection with Cyzicus’ death (1.1030–9). The arrangement in VF makes it possible to separate Jason’s presentation as an outstanding warrior (in a proper *aristeia*) from his killing of Cyzicus, which can then be described more neutrally with Jason’s direct responsibility reduced (see 220–42, 240nn.; see Burck (1970) 1981: 546).

151 campi Martisque potens underlines Jason’s dominant position: he has control over the battlefield and the fighting (*Mars* used metonymically).

151–2 ut caeca profundo | currit hiems: a simile illustrating the destructive force of Jason’s approach as a warrior (see Gärtner 1994: 105–6, Fucecchi 2002: 52; cf. e.g. 4.261–2). The collocation *caeca hiems* is not attested elsewhere: both the storm (*OLD hiems* 3) and Jason sweep away everything in their way without seeing what they come upon because of the darkness or the eager onrush (*OLD caecus* 1a, 2). In Jason’s case the names of three warriors represent concrete objects (152), but these could be identifications by the narrator. The verb *currit* applies primarily to *hiems* within the comparison, but extends to *dux* in the main clause; for Jason the focus is on

the result of his approach with the main verb *reliquit* at the end of the line. *profundo* is most likely an ablative of the place whence (without preposition): the storm, like Jason, comes from the (deep) ocean.

152 Zelyn et Bronten Abarinque: two of the names of these Cyzican victims (with slight, generally accepted emendations) could be inspired by fighters from Cyzicus killed by other Argonauts in AR: Peleus kills Zelys (1.1042), and Heracles kills Megabrontes (1.1041). Brontes is the name of a Centaur in Virgil's *Aeneid* (8.425); Abaris (in the form *Abarinque*) appears as a warrior killed by Euryalus (Virg. *Aen.* 9.344). For the wording cf. Tac. *Agr.* 36.2 *plerique semineces aut integri festinatione uictoriae relinquebantur*.

153 Glaucum ... Glaucumque: the name of this opponent (also at Virg. *Aen.* 12.343) is repeated with two verbs for emphasis (cf. 6.368 *Canthum sequitur Canthumque reposcit*, Virg. *Aen.* 9.439 *Volcentem petit, in solo Volcente moratur*, 10.810 *Lausum increpitat Lausoque minatur*). Spaltenstein notes that such a pursuit implies that specific opponents can be singled out, while the narrative elsewhere suggests that this is impossible in the darkness and the men fight whomever they come across. The focus here is on illustrating Jason's determination to fight and his successful efficiency in dealing with opponents; it is left open whether Jason knows that he pursues Glaucus.

154 iugulo uulnus molitur aperto: the combination of *molior* and *uulnus* is not attested elsewhere, but the verb must mean 'to labour, to bring about, build up, engineer' (*OLD molior* 1a). *iugulo ... aperto* (cf. Ov. *Her.* 8.53–4 *iuguloque Aegisthus aperto | tecta cruentauit*, Met. 13.693 *iugulo dare pectus aperto*, Luc. 6.554–5 *si sanguine uiuo | est opus, erumpat iugulo qui primus aperto*) indicates either that Jason wounds and kills the opponent by opening up his throat (ablative absolute) or that he hits him at the open (i.e. not covered by armour) throat (*aperto* attributive).

155–6 manu contra telum tenet: Glaucus makes an attempt at resistance (*contra*, adverb; *OLD* 4), trying to remove the weapon or at least to stop its progress. **ultima ... | uerba:** on the 'last words' of a dying person see 326–8n. **frustra** endows Glaucus' fate with a tragic note: with his throat wounded Glaucus is unable to pronounce last words. **uidet decrescere:** Glaucus watches his own death when he sees the lance disappear into his body (lit. 'grow smaller'). **cornum** 'lance of cornel wood' (cf. Ov. *Met.* 12.451). Cornel wood was used for making lances and spears (see Virg. *G.* 2.447–8, *Aen.* 3.22–3).

157 hinc ... hinc ... transcurrens: Jason quickly moves from one victim to another. **Halyn:** Halys is another fighter from Cyzicus. The name

appears for other men at Virg. *Aen.* 9.765, Stat. *Theb.* 2.574, 9.152 and is also the name of a river in Asia Minor. **rigido ... demetit ense:** Jason now employs a different weapon, since he has used his lance for Glaucus. (*de*) *metere* (lit. 'mow', 'reap'; *OLD demeto* 3b 'to cut down (in battle)'; cf. Cat. 64.353–5) describes three deaths in succession (cf. Stat. *Theb.* 7.712–13, Sil. 5.285–6, 10.145–6). The epithet *rigido* may imply both a literal description of the steel ('unbending') and the qualification of the attack ('stern, relentless') in transferred sense (*OLD rigidus* 1a, 5; cf. Virg. *Aen.* 12.304 *sic rigido latus ense ferit*).

158 Protin: Protis is the second fighter from Cyzicus to be attacked by Jason. This name is otherwise borne by one of the Pleiads, daughters of the queen of the Amazons (Callim. F 693 Pf.), and a Phocian general, founder of Massilia (Just. *Epit.* 43.3.8, Ath. 13, 576b). This reading is found in some manuscripts (confirmed by the structure of the sentence), while the main tradition has *protinus* (contrast Samuelsson 1927: 3–4).

159 Dorcea: Dorceus is the third victim. His characterization as an excellent bard (158–60) increases the pathos and shows the indiscriminate destructive force of the battle. This also takes up the literary motif of a bard in battle (cf. Virg. *Aen.* 12.391–7, Ov. *Met.* 5.111–18, Stat. *Theb.* 8.548–53; transferred to the 'historical bard' Ennius at Sil. 12.387–419). The name Dorceus is known for a son of Hippocoon who had a place of worship in Sparta (Paus. 3.15.2), for a trusty companion (Stat. *Theb.* 9.809) and for a hunting dog (Ov. *Met.* 3.210). **festis ... mensis** 'festive feasts', 'banquets' (cf. Hor. *Epod.* 9.1 *ad festas dapēs*).

160 Bistoniae magnum ... alumnus: i.e. Orpheus, from Thrace (cf. 1.277 *Thracius ... uates*). The Bistones are a Thracian people (see 83–5n.), and Bistonia often stands for Thrace (cf. Sil. 11.473 (on Orpheus) *Bistonius uates*); for the construction cf. Juv. 1.20 *Lucilius magnus Aurruncæ alumnus*. In VF Orpheus appears as the bard of the Argonauts (1.186–7, 277–93, 470–2, 4.348–422; cf. also Stat. *Theb.* 5.340–5; see Schubert 1998), but he is not mentioned as participating in this battle (contrast Sil. 12.398–400, including the phrase *Thracius ... uates*). Therefore Orpheus can be referred to as the bard par excellence (as a point of comparison) rather than as a protagonist; the preposition *post* implies the notions of comparison and chronological sequence, with emphasis on the former (*OLD post* 4, 5b): Dorceus has had the courage to emulate the outstanding model of Orpheus.

6. Hercules fighting with the club (161–172)

Hercules (see Intro. 3.3) is the only warrior besides Jason who receives a full *aristeia* and is described in action more than once in the battle, with his

two appearances distinguished by different weapons (124–37, 161–72; for Hercules changing weapons cf. his fight against the sea monster at 2.497–539).

The destruction Hercules causes with his characteristic weapon, the club, is illustrated by an elaborate simile (163–7), followed by a confrontation with a single warrior from Cyzicus (167–72). This encounter is significant because Hercules' strength leads to a proud exclamation, in which he announces it as a great benefit to the victim and his family that he will be killed at the hands of Hercules. This makes the fighter from Cyzicus understand the situation: this first realization by one of the humans that this is a battle between former hosts and guests forms its dramatic middle.

Since the fighter from Cyzicus dies immediately, this insight cannot be passed on to others still fighting (contrast Sil. 14.147–77, where the recognition of the opponent as a close acquaintance leads to his life being saved). Hercules' dead victim is the only one to die with knowledge of the identity of his killer, and he will be able to reveal the truth about the opponents on Cyzicus to the shades in the underworld (171–2; for a dying person taking the memory of what they recognize at this point to the next world cf. the death of Jason's father Aeson: 1.825–6).

161 nec ... ultra: *nec* adds another scene and, in combination with *ultra*, indicates progress and modification. **aut** does not distinguish between two mutually exclusive alternatives; instead, in picking up *nec*, it is used almost like a copulative conjunction in the sense of 'nor' (*OLD aut* 5a; cf. 173–4). **acres ... arcus:** a phrase from Virgil, where, however, the plural is natural in a statement about several people (*Aen.* 7.164 *acris tendunt arcus*, 9.665 *intendunt acris arcus*). Here it is most likely a poetic plural (cf. 1.109). Since the context focuses on the various ways of destruction, the epithet *acres* probably means literally 'sharp' and has been transferred from the arrows to the bow. **Tirynthius:** i.e. Hercules (see 133–4n.).

162 socia ... claua: *socia* characterizes the club as Hercules' usual weapon, essentially his 'companion' (cf. the epithet *clauiger*; on Hercules' club see Zissos on 1.108–11). **disicit** 'scatters', 'disperses' (*OLD* 2a). **agmina claua:** for this line ending cf. Virg. *Aen.* 10.317–20 *nec longe Cissea durum | immanemque Gyan stementis agmina claua | deiecit leto; nihil illos Herculis arma | nec ualidae iuuere manus genitorque Melampus*, where, however, those using a Herculean club are killed.

163–5 ac ueluti ... | ... | ... ruunt: this simile illustrates the noisy and painful destruction caused by Hercules (see Gärtner 1994: 106–7, Pice 2003: 213–14). AR has a simile about woodcutters (1.1003–5) in the battle

against the earth-born men on Cyzicus; this describes the dead enemies lying spread out on the shore. **magna ... securi:** the epithet (sometimes emended) presumably points to the number of blows and thus makes the action appear more destructive. **cuneisque** 'with wedges' (as splitting tools) (*OLD* 1a). **graue:** rather adverbial with *gemit* (Spaltenstein) than adjective with *robur* (Wagner, Liberman). **robur:** an 'oak-tree' (*OLD* 1); because of the word's connotations of 'hard timber' and 'strength' (*OLD* 3, 4), it implies that the strong force cuts down even solid trees. **abies piceaeque:** two types of tree: 'the silver fir, (prob.) *abies pectinata*' (*OLD abies*) and 'a spruce, prob. *Picea abies*' (*OLD picea*).

165–6 dura sub ictu | ossa uirum malaeque sonant: cf. Virg. *Aen.* 5.436 *duro crepitant sub uulnere malae*, Sil. 9.397 *incusso crepuerunt pondere malae*.

166–7 sparsusque cerebro | albet ager: Hercules' destructive efforts crush the skulls of the victims: it is not uncommon in battle narratives that bones or brains are scattered or the ground turns white from bones (cf. Virg. *Aen.* 10.416, 12.36, Sil. 2.200). The notion that the ground becomes white from brains is unusual, since what is produced is mainly bloody gore. Perhaps in a night scene the ground, when covered with what is left of the victims, appears slightly lighter (see Langen; *contra* Spaltenstein).

167 leuis 'nimble' or 'light-armed' (*OLD* 2a, 4b); both characteristics would allow this fighter to launch a stealthy attack from below, in contrast to Hercules' applying huge force with a heavy weapon from above. **subsederat:** 'he had crouched down for an attack' (*OLD* 1); contrary to his probable intentions, this puts the man into a convenient position for Hercules to kill him. **† Hidmon †:** the name of Hercules' opponent. The transmitted form *Hidmon* is questioned by almost all editors: there may be confusion with the Argonaut Idmon, who is named at the end of a line a few verses below (175), but VF cannot have given the name of a prominent Argonaut also to a fighter from Cyzicus. Various suggestions to emend the name have been made; as there is no other evidence for the names of the Cyzican fighters, it is best to leave the name as uncertain.

168–9 occupat: Hercules grasps the bearded face (hendiadys) of his opponent with his left hand; with his right hand he strikes the club against the head from above. *occupat* (see 154) implies that thereby he forestalls the opponent's attack (*OLD* 1, 11a; see 167n.). The same line opening (though with different constructions) is found in battle narratives in Virgil's *Aeneid* (10.698–9 *sed Latagum saxo atque ingenti fragmine montis | occupat os faciemque aduersam*, 12.299–300 *uenienti Elyso plagamque ferenti | occupat os flammis: olli ingens barba reluxit*). **clauamque superne | intonat:** this collocation (lit. 'and he thunders the club down from above'), without

parallels, can be explained in the context: since the victim is squatting before him (167), Hercules can bring down his club on him with full force and thus cause a loud noise like thunder coming from the sky. *OLD* assigns a special meaning to this passage (*OLD intono* 4 '(tr.) to cause to thunder', marked '(poet.)'), different from the verb's intransitive use (*OLD intono* 2 'to make a noise like thunder'). Others have emended the text (e.g. Courtney: *inrolat*, Delz 1976: 97: *incitat*, Delz in Delz and Watt 1998: 134: *incutit*); Liberman suspects that VF has misunderstood Virg. *Aen.* 9.708–9 (709 *clipeum super intonat ingens*) and hence prefers to leave the text unchanged.

169–70 'occumbes ... | ... fatum.' In epic battle narratives successful warriors often send their victims to death with a boasting exclamation, in which they may name themselves (cf. e.g. 4.312–14, Virg. *Aen.* 10.829–30, Ov. *Met.* 12.80–1, Stat. *Theb.* 9.557–9, Sil. 5.561–3). In contrast to epitaphs, such exclamations do not give the name of the dead man, but the name of the killer (Dinter 2009: 542). Because of the special conditions of this fight Hercules' exclamation is momentous: only when Hercules mentions his name does the victim realize who he has been fighting against. **occumbes ... nunc:** *nunc* can be connected with a verb in the future tense if the verb introduces an immediate consequence of a present situation (*OLD* 5a). **et** links *intonat* and *ait*. While single *ait* connected with a preceding finite verb is rare in VF, there are a few similar instances (often involving also a participle) with both *et* and *-que* (4.757–8, 6.267–9; 1.264–6, 7.11–13, 2.255–7, 3.35–6, 4.335, 387, 474). **donum:** for a fighter's claim that it will be a gift for his opponents to be killed by him cf. 4.215–17 *quis mecum foedera iungel? | prima manu cui dona fero? mox omnibus idem | ibi honos*. **fatum:** Kramer's emendation of the transmitted *fatīs* (caused perhaps by the preceding *tuis*) creates a balanced line with two parallel nouns, each characterized by an adjective and linked by *-que*, both referring to the individual's death (*OLD fatum* 3a). Some editors have kept the transmitted text, with *fatīs* understood in the sense of *manes* (not registered in *OLD*) or 'to your spirit' (Postgate 1900: 256); others have changed to *natis* (Reuss 1899: 431) or suggested *saeclis* (Postgate 1900: 256: 'your contemporaries'); some have emended *mirabile*.

171–2 horruit ... | primus: in the moment of his death the victim shudders at the realization of the facts. The term *amicum* need not imply a special relationship between Hercules and this warrior; it just means that he recognizes Hercules as one of their 'friends' (cf. 42). **primus** 'the first', i.e. 'of all the fighters', emphasized by being placed in enjambement at the start of the line. **ignaris ... umbris** 'unknowing shades of the dead' (*OLD umbra* 7a).

7. Deaths of Ornytus and Crenaeus (173–181)

The appearances of Jason (150–60) and Hercules (161–72) are followed by scenes presenting a greater number of fighters in close succession, with emphasis on the tragic deaths of the victims and thus on the fate of the people of Cyzicus, as at the end of Hercules' *aristeia*.

Ornytus (173–7) dies at the hands of Idmon, who wears the helmet received from him at their earlier hospitable encounter: Ornytus has given presents to his guest (like Cyzicus, cf. 5–13); now the hospitable relationship is reversed. The juxtaposition exemplifies the tragic change from a meeting between hosts and guests to fighting, as indicated in the introductory address to the Muse (17).

Ornytus' death is followed by another fighter's fate characterized by a contrast between features displayed in life and the manner or consequences of death: Crenaeus, a handsome youth beloved by nymphs, loses his youthful splendour in death (177–81). Crenaeus, like Ornytus, is addressed in apostrophe, whereby the narrative maintains an emotional tone.

173–4 nec ... profuit: for this structure expressing the idea that behaviour in life has not prevented death cf. Virg. *Aen.* 11.843–4 *nec tibi desertae in dumis coluisse Dianam | profuit aut nostras umero gessisse pharetras*, with variation at Hor. *Carm.* 1.28.4–6. **Thessalicos ... reges | ... benigna** 'to have tended the Thessalian kings (i.e. the Argonauts; see 12–13, 28–9nn.) with hospitality or their stay with benign mind': zeugmatic construction (*OLD foueo* 6), with the first object (*reges*) of *fouisse* a common type and the second one (*moras*) an unusual one (see Kleywegt 1986: 2466). **Ornyte:** the name of this fighter from Cyzicus (Ornytus) appears for other characters at AR 1.207, 2.65, Virg. *Aen.* 11.677, Sil. 14.478. **hospitiis** responds to Cyzicus' instructions to his people at the first encounter to receive the Argonauts hospitably (2.649–50). **aut** continues *nec* and has the sense of a weak 'nor' (see 161n.). **moras** 'stay' (*OLD* 6), without implying a (negative) notion of delay.

175 dapibus: Samuelsson's emendation of the transmitted *claribus*: a banquet (see 2.347–50) happened at the Argonauts' first stay (2.649–64). Hence *diem* most likely refers to the day of the Argonauts' first arrival. Expressions like *daps* (*OLD* 1 'a sacrificial meal', 2 'a feast, meal, banquet'; cf. 120) and *sacrasse* (*OLD* 4a 'to give a sacred status to, enshrine') endow the event with solemnity. **Idmon:** one of the Argo's seers, who will die later during the voyage (cf. 1.228–39, 3.440, 4.546, 5.2–12; on his name and genealogy see Zissos on 1.228).

176 oblatumque ferit: sc. *te*. The wording stresses that Idmon has not planned to strike his former host; instead, as elsewhere in this night-time battle (147–9), this is a chance encounter.

176–7 *galeam cristasque rubentes* | ... *gerens* 'wearing a helmet with a red crest' (hendiadys); cf. Virg. *Aen.* 9.50, 12.89. (*heu tua dona*): into the description of a particularly noticeable piece of armour the narrator inserts a parenthetical exclamation (cf. e.g. 186, 258): this emotional comment (see also Dinter 2009: 553–4) continues the address to Ornytus (173) and is signalled by an exclamatory word, expressing sorrow and regret (e.g. 261, 292, 303, 325, 329, 562, 592). The situation may imply that, because of the distinctive character of this gift, Ornytus, like Hercules' victim (171–2), recognizes the identity of his opponent before he dies (Spaltenstein). Grammatically, the accusative following *heu* is an attribute, agreeing with *galeam cristasque rubentes*, rather than an accusative of exclamation.

177–8 *quem* ... | ... *parens*: for the next warrior the effect of his death on his parent is envisaged: this suggests that this person will not only die, but will also be disfigured, illustrated by the difference between his appearance after his death and that during his lifetime. Because of the focus on Crenaeus and his parents, the fighter who kills him is not identified. This vignette includes a number of typical motifs of epitaphs (Dinter 2009: 553). *Crenaeae*: another fighter from Cyzicus. If the name Crenaeus is derived from the Greek word κρήνη ('fountain'), there would be a connection between the name and his life. A person of this name appears in Ovid's description of the battle between Centaurs and Lapiths (*Met.* 12.313) and in Statius as the fair son of Faunus and the nymph Ismenis, where the story of his death in battle and the reaction of his relatives, in particular his mother, are described (*Theb.* 9.319–445, cf. also 5.221).

178–9 *en*: an exclamation emphasizing the scene's visual dimension (cf. 124 *ecce*). *frigidus* ... | ... *obit*: cf. Virg. *Aen.* 4.385 *cum frigida mors anima seduxerit artus*, 11.818–19 *labitur exsanguis, labuntur frigida leto | lumina, purpureus quondam color ora reliquit*. VF's presentation is more indirect, avoiding a blunt statement of the harsh reality: *frigidus* ... *somnus* paraphrases 'death' (*OLD* *somnus* 1b). *orbes* | *purpureos*: *orbes* is frequently used for eyes by poets (*OLD* 8b; cf. e.g. 4.235); *purpureus* probably has the more general meaning of 'radiant', 'glowing' (*OLD* 3).

179 *anni* 'youth' (*OLD* 6c). *candor et anni* may be a hendiadys denoting 'beautiful young age', 'youthful splendour'.

181 *durus* 'harsh', presumably because Crenaeus has not responded to the nymphs in love with him; tragically, he dies before enjoying the benefits of his beautiful appearance. A similar notion of leaving customary homes for a terrible fate is expressed with reference to Medea (6.497 *deseris heu nostrum nemus aequalesque catervas*). There it is a woeful exclamation:

here the imperative continues the direct address of the earlier apostrophe; the narrator ironically phrases as an order what will be an inevitable consequence.

8. Hylas (182–185)

The narrative moves to another Cyzican fighter and then focuses on Hylas, whereby the perspective switches again to the Argonauts. Hylas, singled out by the repetition of his name in epanalepsis, kills Sages, but his success is qualified by the poet's parenthetical comment about his future: on Juno's instigation he will soon be separated from the Argonauts (3.481–4.81). This prolepsis connects the two main episodes of this book (see 481–740n.).

182 *at* marks the change to a new scene of a different type (see 741n.). *diuersa* ... *turbantem* 'throwing different parts (i.e. of the battlefield) into disarray' (*OLD* *turbo* 4, *diuersus* 4a; for *diuersa* as object cf. 6.299–301), combining an indication of action and location (in a variation of *diuersa parte*). *Sagen*: Sages is the name of another fighter from Cyzicus; it does not appear elsewhere. Sages is apparently an active and successful fighter; the contrast to the novice Hylas is underlined when he is said to 'dare' to attack Sages. This seems to presuppose again (see 153n.) that an individual fighter can be chosen as a target. Yet this is the narrator's wording to emphasize that the boy Hylas attacks an experienced warrior. *fallere* has the new meaning of 'strike from a hidden position' according to Kleywegt (1986: 2467), while *OLD* lists the passage under the ordinary meaning of 'deceive' (*OLD* 1a). The verb does not imply deliberate trickery on Hylas' part but rather indicates that he unexpectedly surprises Sages. This use could have been developed from examples in Virgil (*Aen.* 9.572 *hic iaculo bonus, hic longe fallente sagitta*, with Hardie *ad loc.*, 10.754 *iaculo et longe fallente sagitta*), where the characteristic is applied to the weapon. *neruo*: lit. 'sinew', metonymically 'bow-string' (*OLD* 3a; cf. Sil. 1.322–3).

183 *tum primum puer* ... *Hylas*: Hylas has been introduced as a young boy, who carries Hercules' bow, while he cannot handle his club yet (1.109–11); he now becomes involved in a battle for the first time and enjoys immediate success. This is reminiscent of the first appearance of the young Ascanius in battle in Virgil's *Aeneid* 9 (9.590–2 *tum primum bello celerem intendisse sagittam | dicitur ante feras solitus terrere fugacis | Ascanius, fortemque manu fuisse Numanum*). In the second half of this book Hylas will appear as a hunter, though without success, now evoking Ascanius in *Aeneid* 7 (see 481–740, 521–64nn.), where he hits the animal he is hunting and thus causes war (7.475–510). Hylas goes through the stages of hunt and war in the opposite order. The motif of a first battle has come up at

Jason's first appearance in this fight (81), but there the focus is on a young man facing the first challenge on this journey rather than on the initiation of a boy (see 81n.). **ausus**: supply *est*, linked with *prostravitque* (185).

183–4 spes ... | ... **Iuno**: the parenthetic comment signals an unhappy future for Hylas (cf. 1.218–20): Hercules' friend *pulcher Hylas* (on the relationship between the two see 481–740n.) shows great potential as a warrior, but this will not be realized since the fates and Juno will not allow it (3.481–4.81). The repetition of Hylas' name in connection with his two main characteristics (*puer* and *pulcher*) gives the statement an emphatic and tragic tone, and it anticipates Hercules' later cries (5.96 with n.). Presumably *si*, with *prospera* as an adjective predicate, has to be supplied to the second clause (rather than *sinat*). The subjunctive present points to an 'ideal conditional sentence' representing the matter as still in suspense (G–L §596), but does not deny the possibility of Hylas' survival (as an unreal conditional would). For the combination of fates and god (see Intro. 2.5) allowing events to happen cf. Dido's remark at Virg. *Aen.* 4.651 *dum fata deusque sinebat*; for fate denying young boys to fulfil their potential cf. the comments on Marcellus at Virg. *Aen.* 6.869–70 *ostendent terris hunc tantum fata nec ultra | esse sinerit*, 882–3 *heu, miserande puer, si qua fata aspera rumpas, | tu Marcellus eris*. In another context in Virgil Juno's own plans are subject to what fate allows (*Aen.* 1.18 *si qua fata sinant*).

185 uirum contrasts with *puer* (183). **per pectora**: a prepositional phrase depending on a noun (*telo*) without a supporting verbal form (see Summers 1894: 47).

9. Castor and Pollux (186–197)

This scene increases the horror of the battle (186 *nefas*) since brothers confront one another (186–9). However, the tension is soon resolved: because of the light Castor and Pollux were given by Jupiter at the start of the voyage (1.561–73) the worst is avoided (see Intro. 2.5). The confrontation between the twin brothers creates a 'mirror combat' (Hardie 1993b: 60–1), especially since the entire battle is indirectly characterized as *nefas* (258). This confrontation intensifies the aspect of civil and even fraternal war (see McGuire 1997: 124, 144, Bartolomé 2009: 67).

The brothers then successfully direct their attacks against fighters from Cyzicus (189–97; cf. AR. 1.1045). More victims are mentioned for Pollux than for Castor. Although both Castor and Pollux belong to the more prominent Argonauts, are given the longest description in the catalogue (see Zissos on 1.420–32) and appear (often as a pair) in other scenes (2.427, 3.330–1, 667–8, 723), Pollux seems to be

presented as more important: he will later confront Amycus (1.220, 4.190–343, 757–8), he has already been referred to in this battle (149), and he assists at the wedding of Jason and Medea (8.245–6), though Castor receives an *aristeia* during the fighting in Colchis (6.204–18, 239–41).

The last fighter mentioned in this sequence, the hunter Erymus, is the only named warrior from Cyzicus who is not killed: he is saved because the Moon, identified with the hunting goddess Diana, briefly lights up in pity for him and thus allows him to avoid the lance thrown against him (193–7). His fate is described as an afterthought, since he is not one of the men attacked by Castor or Pollux, but his appearance explains the situation of one of Pollux' victims (192). The addition has this subsection begin and end with a saving intervention of divine light (see also 95–248, 113–23, 124–37nn.).

186–7 accessere ... **acti** | ... **in sese**: *accedere in* (attested with place names) seems to be used of a hostile action (*OLD accedo* 3) rather than the more usual *accedere ad* (Kleywegt 1986: 2470). This gives a more balanced phrase than interpreting *in sese* as going with *acti* and *accessere* as absolute (Spaltenstein). (**nefas**): an initial comment by the narrator on the character of the scene (cf. e.g. 258, 4.692, Stat. *Theb.* 3.54, 11.360, 12.83, Sil. 13.483). **Tyndaridae**: i.e. Castor and Pollux, the sons of Tyndareus (and Leda) (see Hom. *Od.* 11.298–304; cf. VF 1.570–1 *fratres* ... | *Tyndareos*, 5.367 *Tyndaridas*). Both of them were also seen as sons of Zeus (hence their other name Dioscuri, not used in VF), or Castor was regarded as son of Tyndareus and Pollux as son of Zeus (4.256, 312–13). Here both aspects are combined: Castor and Pollux are introduced as the sons of Tyndareus, while the light given by Jupiter saves them (1.561–73). **ibat**: imperfect of an attempted action (G–L §233). **in ictus** 'into blows', 'to fighting'.

188 nescius: an emphatic reminder that Castor (like other fighters) does not realize whom he is confronting.

188–9 noua lux subitusque ... | **frontis apex**: *lux* and *apex* probably form a hendiadys (*OLD apex* 4 'a point of flame'); *frontis* is best defined as a genitive of possession: 'the light of the forehead', i.e. 'the light on the forehead'. The light is 'new' because Jupiter has only given it to Castor and Pollux at the start of the voyage (1.561–73, cf. also 5.366–7). This light recalls the omen of the flame on the head of Aeneas' son Iulus during the night-time battle in Virgil's *Aeneid* (2.679–704, esp. 2.682–3 *ecce leuis summo de uertice uisus Iuli | fundere lumen apex*); a *noua lux* also appears in the fight between Aeneas' men and Turnus (Virg. *Aen.* 9.110, 731).

189–90 Ityn: Itys is another fighter from Cyzicus. In Greek mythology Itys is known as the son of Procne; the name also appears for a Trojan killed by Turnus at Virg. *Aen.* 9.574. **qua caerulus ambit | balteus et gemini committunt ora dracones:** Itys' baldric is clasped together by two serpents interlocking their mouths (for animal ornaments on items of clothing cf. 6.57–9, Curt. 3.3.17). The colour *caerulus* ('blue', 'dark') is associated with serpents (*OLD* 4; cf. 7.535).

191 Hagen Thapsusque securigerumque Nealcen: Hages, Thapsus and Nealcas are three warriors from Cyzicus killed by Pollux (*frater*). Probably as a result of the many personal names in this line, this is the only verse in VF exhibiting a caesura after the third trochee in addition to a *trithemimeres* (see Kösters 1893: 18; see Intro. 2.7). Hages is transmitted as the name of a relative of Porus, a ruler of India, in Curtius Rufus (Curt. 8.14.2), but the reading there is generally changed to Spitaces. Thapsus is the name of two Africans in Silius Italicus (2.160, 4.635). Nealcas appears as the name of a Trojan (Virg. *Aen.* 10.753) or of an African in epic (Sil. 9.226, 15.448) and also as that of a painter (Plin. *HN* 35.141–2). The Trojan Nealcas uses *iaculo et longe fallente sagitta* (Virg. *Aen.* 10.754), whereas the Nealcas from Cyzicus is *securiger*; that Nealcas is the only warrior in this sequence to be given such a qualification might be inspired by Virgil.

192 Canthi pallentem uulnere Cydrum: Cydrus (whose name is not attested elsewhere in Latin) is another fighter from Cyzicus killed by Pollux: he is already weakened and pale because of a wound that the Argonaut Canthus (subjective genitive) has caused (on Canthus cf. 1.450–6, 6.317–70, 7.422).

193 torserat ... totis conisus uiribus hastam: for similar expressions cf. Virg. *Aen.* 9.410–11 *toto conixus corpore ferrum | conicit, 744 intorquet summis adnixus uiribus hastam*. **hic:** it is not entirely clear to which man this pronoun refers (see 100–11.). Since this person attacks Erymus, who is not an Argonaut, *hic* is most likely to denote an Argonaut, and most probably the last to be mentioned, i.e. Canthus. The following lines (which go back in time, as the pluperfect *torserat* shows) explain the situation: the Argonaut Canthus had thrown a javelin against Erymus; Erymus was saved by the Moon's intervention and thus able to avoid the lance, which went past him and struck Cydrus.

194 Erymo: Erymus is the name of another fighter from Cyzicus; apart from being recorded as an epithet of Zeus, this name is not attested elsewhere. *Erymo* is a (poetic) dative of direction with *torserat* (193) (G–I. §358).

194–5 breuis: predicative and agreeing with *Luna* (196) (see Garson 1970: 183: 'a fleeting shaft of moonlight'). **hanc ... fata ferentem:** i.e. *hastam* (a participle connected with a demonstrative pronoun). For a weapon bringing 'fate', i.e. 'death' (*OLD fatum* 6) cf. Virg. *Aen.* 12.924, Sil. 4.255 *fata extrema ferens abies*, 13.210. **sed:** a postponed conjunction (see 44n.), introducing the phrase starting at *breuis*. **prodidit ... refulsit: hysteron proteron:** the moon appears and thereby reveals ('betrays') the death-bringing weapon. The same combination of verbs (at the same places in the line) with reference to the revelation of arms and armour in a night-time battle occurs in Virgil's *Aeneid*: the flash of light shows Euryalus to the enemy (9.373–4 *et galea Euryalum sublustri noctis in umbra | prodidit immemorem radiisque aduersa refulsit*). The motif (with slightly different wording) reappears in Silius Italicus, where it leads to one relative attacking another without realizing it (9.107–9 *et notis fulsit lux tristis ab armis, | frater-nusque procul, luna prodente, relexit | ante oculos sese et radiauit comminus umbo*). **piceo** 'pitch-dark' (*OLD* 2) agrees with *polo* (196; ablative of the place whence without preposition); cf. 1.617 *piceoque ... caelo*, contrast 135. **comitem:** Erymus is a 'comrade' because he is a hunter (194) like Luna, identified with Diana (see Schwenn 1921: esp. 1142). The Moon is seen as personified and can therefore have emotions.

196–7 cessere ... | ... cassis: because of the Moon's support, Erymus is saved: his helm-crest gives way, the lance passes without causing a wound and only touches the helmet's top or rim. Erymus probably moves when he sees the lance coming and therefore avoids the deadly blow by a narrow margin. For a lance just touching the helmet cf. Virg. *Aen.* 12.492–3 *apicem tamen incita summum | hasta tulit summasque excussit uertice cristas*, Stat. *Theb.* 9.106–9 *inde Pheres acerque Lycus; sed cassa Pheretis | hasta redit, Lycus excelso terrore comantem | perstringit galeam: conuulsae cuspidi longe | diffugere iubae patuitque ingloria cassis*. **raptumque per auras | uulnus** 'the wound is snatched through the air' (supply *est*), i.e. the lance intended to cause a wound or the potential wound implied in the throw is carried on through the air (*OLD uulnus* 1c; cf. Virg. *Aen.* 9.745–6 *uulnus Saturnia Iuno | delorsit ueniens, portaeque infigitur hasta*, Ov. *Mel.* 12.102–4, Luc. 8.383–4; see Fletcher 1933). **extrema sonuit cita cuspidi cassis:** *extrema* (abl.) indicates literally that the helmet is hit by the outermost point of the javelin or is a transferred epithet meaning that the helmet is grazed at the top or rim. *cita* (nom.) illustrates that the helmet is set in motion when hit by the javelin (*OLD cieo* 1a), which makes a sound.

10. Telamon (198–206)

The role of the Argonaut Telamon (198–206) is enhanced in VF (see Dräger 2004: 40–1): in this battle he kills five opponents (only one in AR 1.1043). Some of the victims are characterized; their different fates illustrate the all-encompassing nature of this battle.

198 Nisaeum ... Ophelten: Nisaeus and Opheltes are two fighters from Cyzicus. The name Opheltes is also attested for other characters, for instance for an experienced fighter at Virg. *Aen.* 9.201. **Telamon:** an Argonaut, the son of Aeacus and a particular friend of Hercules; the two of them head the two rows of oarsmen on either side of the ship (1.353–5). Later Telamon argues against leaving Hercules behind and defends the dead Canthus in the battle in Colchis (on Telamon and his relationship with Hercules cf. 1.353–5, with Zissos *ad loc.*, 2.384, 451, 3.637–45, 692–714, 6.345, 364, also Theoc. *Id.* 13.36–9). **uana sonantem:** Opheltes utters vainglorious words, but to no effect since he will die anyway (cf. Virg. *Aen.* 10.322, Sil. 1.306). The adjective in the accusative neuter plural describes the character of the utterance; it can be seen as an internal accusative or as an adjective with adverbial force (cf. 229, 349).

199–200 per clipei ... | ... ferit: Telamon strikes Opheltes deep inside the body, the weapon going through the shield that gives way (*per clipei cedentis opus*) and then the cuirass (*artemque trilicem*). **artemque trilicem** ‘a work of art with a triple thread’, i.e. a strong cuirass (cf. Virg. *Aen.* 3.467 *loricam consertam hamis auroque trilicem*, Sil. 2.401–2 *praelerea textam nodis auroque trilicem* | *loricam, nulli tegimen penetrabile telo*). The cuirass is pierced after the weapon has passed the shield and before it enters the body (cf. Stat. *Theb.* 9.552–4 *il tremebunda abies clipeum per et aerea texta* | *loricae tandemque animam sub pectore magno* | *deprendit*). If for *ars* the sense ‘work of art’ (OLD 8b) is assumed, indicating the intricate texture of this piece of armour (cf. e.g. Virg. *Aen.* 5.359 *clipeum ... Didymaonis artes*), the transmitted *artemque* is possible, but requires metrical lengthening of the last syllable of *opūs* (for a list of similar instances, such as 2.225 *metūs* and 3.234 *sanguīs*, see Strand 1972: 89). However, *artemque* has often been changed to *cratemque*. If *cratemque* is understood as ‘shield’ (OLD 1f), as it usually is, this text leads to a duplication, which does not take account of the notion implied in *cedentis*. When *cratemque* is interpreted as referring to the cuirass (Håkanson 1973: 829, Liberman; based on a broader definition: OLD 4), this text yields the same sense as the transmitted *artemque*, though without metrical anomalies; yet there are no real parallels for this meaning (*crates* (pl.) at Stat. *Theb.* 4.110 *omnibus*

aeratae propugnant pectora crates is normally interpreted as ‘shield’; additional epithets distinguish between ‘shield’ and ‘cuirass’ at Virg. *Aen.* 7.632–4 *tegmina tuta cauant capitum flectuntque salignas* | *umbonum cralis; alii thoracas aenos* | *aut leuis ocreas lento ducunt argento*). Therefore *artemque* seems preferable (for a summary of reasons see Strand 1972: 88–90; contra Håkanson 1973: 829).

200 laetusque profatur: like Hercules (169–70) and other epic warriors, Telamon tops his success with a proud exclamation, perhaps provoked by his opponent’s utterances (198). The statement is full of tragic irony since this death (like others) will bring grief to the town, but to a town that the Argonauts would not have wanted to hurt had they recognized their opponents.

201–2 di, ... delegerit ... | fors: while the ‘gods’ are addressed, ‘chance’ is given as responsible for selecting the opponent. The address to the gods therefore is formulaic or envisages the gods as potentially influencing chance (see Intro. 2.5). **precor:** followed not by a subordinate *ut*-clause, but by the wish added paratactically: the perfect subjunctive indicates that the wish relates to the past and may have been fulfilled (G–L §§256.1, 260). **regem aut aeque ... alta** | ... **gente satum** ‘as a king or (someone) born of equally noble lineage’.

203–4 Aren ... Melanthum | Phocaeque: Ares, Melanthus and Phoeus are three warriors from Cyzicus, killed by Telamon in the next round. Again (cf. 198–201) the amount of detail given for each warrior increases: the first is just a name, the second is characterized by a familial relationship, the third receives several lines about his background. The name of the first fighter is identical with the Greek name of the war god, and Melanthus is attested as another name of Poseidon/Neptune among the Athenians (cf. Σ Lycoph. *Alex.* 766; also as that of a sailor at Ov. *Met.* 3.617). Phoeus is known as the name of the grandfather of the poet Terpander.

204–6 Phocaeque ... | ... tulit: Phoeus, son of Olenus, was driven away from the country of the Leleges, presumably his homeland and, on Cyzicus, became a close ‘friend’ of the king. Phoeus does not appear elsewhere in the Argonautic mythical tradition. The introduction of this figure demonstrates that even men not native to Cyzicus are killed in this battle. The patronymic *Olenides* (not ‘from Olenos’; contrast 106 *Olenii*) is known for other people (e.g. Ov. *Met.* 12.433).

204 <Le>legum: Leleges (as read in later manuscripts) is the Greek name for the early population of parts of Greece, the Greek islands and Asia Minor (see Geyer 1925). According to some authors the Carians had the

Leleges as slaves (cf. Philip of Theangela, ap. Athen. 6.271b (*FGrH* / *BNJ* 741 F 2), Eustathius, ad Hom. *Il.* 16.865 (1090.59–60)), and in Plutarch they appear as a conquered people of reduced rights (Plut. *Quaest. Graec.* 46 (302B)). Such details might explain why the person gaining the position of *famulus* to a king is given this background.

205 regis: i.e. Cyzicus. **famuli propioris honores** ‘the privileges of a rather close servant’. In parallel with *amicitiam*, *honores* presumably refers primarily to the privileges enjoyed in such a position (*OLD honor* 4), although the ‘Roman’ sense of ‘office’ (*OLD honor* 5a) may be implicated. *famulus* denotes a ‘servant’ in various degrees of dependency (cf. Sil. 13.886 *Assyrio famulus regi*).

206 qua patiens non arte? lit. ‘by which art not bearing it?’, alluding to the compromises made by servants at court and the techniques employed to make these positions bearable (*OLD patior* 5; sometimes changed to e.g. *pollens*: Watt 1984: 164–5). This parenthetical exclamation conveying a negative assessment may be based on the Roman aversion to kings and courtiers. However, king Cyzicus has been presented as a positive figure rather than as a tyrant, and here he is not referred to by name. Therefore this may be a general assessment of the relationship to kings. Other comments in VF revealing criticism of kings appear in connection with men characterized as tyrants (esp. 4.157–8, 315–16, 5.263–5).

11. Intensification of the fighting (206–211)

This survey of the increasing ferocity of the battle forms a transition to a second invocation of the Muses (212–19; cf. 14–18), separating the general fighting from Cyzicus’ death (220–42). A summarizing statement and illustrative similes vividly describe how the fighting is becoming more terrible as the night goes on, especially since Night slows its movement, thus turning into an ‘accomplice’ (210–11). There is no indication that this character of the night is meant to be a symbol of the madness by which the humans become guilty (but see Gärtner 1998: 209); it rather illustrates that, the longer it lasts, the fighting becomes more and more oppressive for the people involved.

206 alta ‘deep’, ‘profound’ (*OLD* 10b). **cadentium:** genitive plural of the participle in *-um* rather than *-ium* (also at 219, 255, 463, 692; see Romeo 1907: 19).

207 † donec †: the transmitted *donec* (most manuscripts, apart from *donat* in C) must hide a verb because *augetque* adds a second verb (only Samuelsson 1927: 4–6 defends *donec*). Of the suggested emendations Gronovius’ *denset* seems the most plausible (*OLD* 2b ‘to multiply, cause to come thick and fast’): it is palaeographically close and captures the

required sense that the deep night increases the effect of the sounds, while it avoids repetitions; like *auget*, it expresses an intensification. *denseo* is not attested in connection with sounds, but an extension from its usual application to the multiplication of strokes to that of sounds seems possible.

208–9 ut ... | ... urbes: this simile (see Pollini 1986: 34–6, Pice 2003: 214) illustrates the increasing horrors of the battle by a comparison with the volcanic island Inarime and the volcano Vesuvius. While there are relatively few references to Italian geography in VF’s similes, Vesuvius appears again in another simile (4.507–9), which describes a sudden outburst covering cities in ash and seems to allude to the eruption of 79 CE (cf. Sil. 17.592–6); the passage in book 4 must then have been written after that date (see Ehlers 1985: 335, 1991: 19). Here the description is more generic and seems to refer to regular occurrences of small earthquakes (though it is often seen as alluding to the eruption of 79 CE), especially since *mugire* and *mugitus* are frequently used for earthquakes (see Langen, Strand 1972: 35–6, López Moreda 1996: 23; cf. Cic. *Div.* 1.35, Luc. 3.418); this eliminates this passage from those that might indicate a *terminus post quem* for the composition of the poem or parts of it. Ehlers (1985: 335; also Dräger) links this simile with the earthquake of 62/63 CE (different dates in sources: Tac. *Ann.* 15.22.2, Sen. *Q Nat.* 6.1.1–2) and therefore counts this passage among those referring to contemporary events (Ehlers 1985: 334 and n. 2). The conclusion that these lines are likely to have been composed before 79 CE, because the poet would otherwise have referred to the recent major incident (so Strand 1972: 36), is not necessary (see Liberman: xxii n. 47; on the date of the poem see Intro. 2.2). **ut magis ... magis ut:** the same introduction to both parts of the clause sharing the predicate. **Inarime:** an island in the Gulf of Naples (modern Ischia), known to be volcanic, referred to as *Aenaria* in Latin prose and in Roman poetry also as *Inarime* (e.g. Virg. *Aen.* 9.716), apparently based on a misreading of a line in Homer (*Il.* 2.783 εἰν Ἀρίμοις, ‘among the Arimoi’, Plin. *HN* 3.82 *Aenaria a statione nauium Aeneae, Homero Inarime dicta*, Mart. Cap. 6.644). **mugitor:** the noun occurs only here, an obvious derivation from the cognate verb (Garson 1970: 183, Pollini 1986: 35). **suscitat:** presumably in the more general sense of ‘rouse from inactivity or indifference, stir to action’ (*OLD* 3b).

210–11 neque enim ... | ... bigis: the fighting goes on since Night does not follow its normal course and enlarges the period of night. Strictly speaking, it is the second half of the night that is unusually long, since the Argo’s change of course and subsequent return to Cyzicus only happen after midnight (32–3 with nn.). When Jupiter puts an end to the fighting

(249–53), the first signs of dawn and the new day appear soon afterwards (257–8). This extended night may recall other, though different, ‘long nights’ caused by divine intervention, such as that in which Jupiter visits Alcmene and Hercules is conceived (Stat. *Theb.* 12.300–1) or the one that effects Ulixes’ reunion with his wife Penelope (Hom. *Od.* 23.241–6). **conscia**: by not moving on and thus allowing the fight to continue, (personified) Night becomes an ‘accomplice’ (*OLD* 2; cf. Ov. *Met.* 6.588 *nox conscia sacris*). **bigis**: Night is often envisaged as moving on a two-horse chariot (e.g. 2.295, Virg. *Aen.* 5.721, Tib. 2.1.87–8, Claud. *Rapt. Pros.* 1.276–7).

12. Address to the Muses (212–219)

This second address to the Muse(s) (212–19; cf. 14–18), separating the general battle narrative from Cyzicus’ death almost at the close (220–42), stresses the horror of the encounter. The poet asks the Muse to go through all aspects of this night with him until the very end (212–13). This develops the trope that the poet does not understand what is going on and is appalled at the plight to be described (cf. 14–18, 2.216–19). Similarly, in Virgil’s *Aeneid* addresses to the Muses may introduce descriptions of intense fighting (esp. 9.525–9).

The indication that it will not be long until sunrise (213–14) has been seen (e.g. by Spaltenstein) as contradicting the preceding remark that the night is extremely long (210–11). However, those two lines conclude the description of the general fighting and can be understood as retrospective. Now the narrative is moving towards the end of the night; this situating identifies Cyzicus’ death as the terrible culmination (on the vocabulary see Raabe 1974: 156–7).

212 Tartareae: the night is like ‘Tartarus’ because of the terrible carnage. The term may also allude to the Furies/Erinyes, apparently involved in the fighting (cf. 18, 214, 217; see 18, 214nn.). **omnia noctis** ‘all (events) of the night’ (partitive genitive, depending on a numeral adjective in neuter plural; G–L §370).

213 Musa: a generic address, with no specific Muse identified (contrast 14 *Clio*), picked up by an address in the plural (216). Changes between singular and plural in addresses to the Muse(s) occur elsewhere in epic poetry (e.g. 5.217–18, Virg. *Aen.* 9.525, Sil. 3.222, 12.390). **sequi** ‘to trace in narrative, recount; to go through (a document, text, etc.)’ (*OLD* 18d). **Phaethon**: the Sun (not the Sun’s son) (*OLD* 2). **afflauit** ‘he breathed upon’: either concrete with reference to the Sun’s horses or metaphorically. **ab alto** ‘from the deep sea’ (*OLD* 1), about the rising sun (hence more likely than ‘from the high sky’, *OLD* 2a).

214 Tisiphonen: one of the Furies/Erinyes. Tisiphone has not yet been mentioned in the battle narrative, only the generic term Erinyes (18; cf. 217). Furies are generally associated with Mars and participate in fighting (cf. 5.141–6, 6.178–9, 402–6, Virg. *Aen.* 10.755–61, Stat. *Theb.* 8.342–6, Sil. 4.430–6). While Tisiphone, like other Furies, intervenes in daylight battles elsewhere (e.g. Virg. *Aen.* 10.761), she seems envisaged as a chthonic goddess here. Therefore, like the shades of the dead (cf. Virg. *Aen.* 5.738–40, 8.246), she trembles when confronted with light and has to disappear when day approaches.

214–15 grauiorque . . . umbra ‘heavier (i.e. more depressing, confusing) darkness’ (*OLD* *gravis* 6c, *umbra* 6; cf. 2.40 *graves . . . tenebras*), an illustration of the intensification of the darkness and its effect on the humans.

215 non signa uirum . . . cernunt: the fighters (unexpressed subject) do not see the ‘signs’ of their opponents and therefore do not recognize the victims. An unexpressed subject, followed by a change in subject (216 *ora*), may be harsh but is not a sufficient reason for changing *uirum* (gen. pl.; see 4n.) to *uiri* (Lieberman in app., tentatively Spaltenstein). In a military context *signa* is most likely to refer to ‘standards’ (*OLD* 10a), while, like other terms (e.g. 97 *phalanx* with n.), *signa* may not be used in a strict technical sense. **non funera cernunt** ‘they do not see the deaths (or: dead bodies)’ (*OLD* *funus* 2a, 3a): the fighters do not see whom they are killing and/or the carnage they have caused (see Langen).

216 rabie ‘frenzy’ (*OLD* 2a), i.e. a mad desire for fighting (cf. Virg. *Aen.* 8.326–7 *deterior donec paulatim ac decolor aetas | et belli rabies et amor successit habendi*). **magis** ‘more’, i.e. ‘than in the earlier part of the night’ (cf. 210–11). **calent**: that the fighters’ faces ‘are fiery’ (*OLD* 7a) enhances the notion of eager fighting. **diuae**: i.e. the Muses (see 213n.).

217 Eumenidum noctisque globos ‘bands gathered by the Eumenides and the night’: the genitives are like possessives and indicate those responsible for the action (see Kleywegt 1986: 2452). **uatique** ‘poet’ (*OLD* 2; cf. Virg. *Aen.* 7.41; contrast 397). **patescat** ‘let it be revealed’ (*OLD* 3b): a shared predicate agreeing in number with the nearest noun (218 *frago*; see G–L §285). In contrast to the characters fighting in the darkness the poet asks for enlightenment from the gods (cf. also Walter 2014: 45).

218 tepidi singultibus agri: the ground is ‘lukewarm’ because the dying men spew out warm blood with their gasps (cf. Virg. *Aen.* 9.332–4 *truncumque relinquit | sanguine singultantem; atro tepefacta cruore | terra torique madent*). The condensed expression increases the horror (see Garson 1970: 182).

219 labentum: on the form see 206n. **acti ... manes:** 'shades' (understood proleptically) anticipates the victims' fate in the sense of 'men about to die'. **Minys:** i.e. the Argonauts (see 74n.); a dative of agent (G-L §354).

13. Cyzicus' death (220–242)

Set apart by the second address to the Muse(s) (212–19), the description of Cyzicus' death, emphatically introduced by his name (220), comes as the climax of the battle and has been reshaped in line with other modifications in comparison with AR (contrast Toohey 1992: 200), particularly by another prominent reference to Cybele (see esp. 19–31n.). Since Cyzicus' path into battle is shown at the start (58–73), his two appearances frame the battle narrative. In AR Cyzicus' death is told briefly at the beginning, and the scene concludes with the comment that no mortal may escape fate (1.1030–9); in *AO* Cyzicus is inadvertently killed by Hercules in the fight against the earth-born, the only battle in this version, and this is described as fated (512–25).

When Cyzicus comes upon the scene again in VF, his imminent death is indicated (221), and the delusions caused by divine influence are noted (220–8). His (futile) eagerness for battle culminates in criticism of his men for not fighting energetically enough (229–34). When he compares their present behaviour unfavourably with their activities in the cult of Cybele (230–4), creating a kind of tragic irony, this results in another insult to the goddess (235), even if unintended (see Burck (1970) 1981: 548; often understood as another sacrilege because of *hybris* and/or madness: e.g. Happle 1957: 105–6, Schönberger 1965: 130, Liberman, Hershkowitz 1998a: 173, Schenk 1999: 332, Groß 2003: 186–7). The communicative value of this utterance is not important (with no reaction reported), rather its function in characterizing Cyzicus and explaining the reasons for his death, since for readers this second clash with the goddess recalls Cyzicus' first 'offence' (see Anzinger 2007: 159). While the entire battle has been arranged to punish Cyzicus (27–31), this speech determines the time of his death: at this point he is overcome by the goddess (235–8), and Jason's lance completes the physical death (239–40 with nn.). Just before he dies, Cybele's typical attributes appear to Cyzicus (237–8), so that he understands the reasons, as is confirmed by the wish added for Cyzicus by the poet that he had never been hunting (241–2). Like the realization that dawns upon Hercules' victim (169–72), this insight does not become available to other characters.

Cyzicus' scolding recalls Tarchon's speech in Virgil's *Aeneid* (11.732–40) when he criticizes his men because they are slow to fight and contrasts this with their eagerness in other activities, including bacchic rituals, which, he insinuates, is driven by their desire for food and drink. Similarly, Numanus,

in a speech of criticism and ridicule against the Trojans (Virg. *Aen.* 9.598–620), suggests that the cult of Cybele is the appropriate occupation for womanish and not particularly energetic fighters (9.617–20). In VF the contrast focuses on different contexts of using weapons and is linked directly to the reasons for the battle. Criticism for slow fighting is also voiced in Virgil's night-time conflict at Troy, by the Greek Androgeos, directed against a group of Trojans he mistakes for Greeks (2.373–5). Further, Cyzicus' speech is reminiscent of Pentheus in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* when he rebukes his people for observing the cult of Bacchus (3.531–7).

220 aciem uanis discursibus implet 'he fills the battle line with futile running around' (cf. Ov. *Fast.* 2.223 *uallem latis discursibus implet; OLD discursus* 2a).

221 fata trahens 'carrying his destiny with him' (Spaltenstein): Cyzicus' eager movements will be of no avail as his fate sticks with him and he will not be able to avoid it. Other interpretations, such as 'close to death' (Wagner) or 'prolonging life, soon about to die' (Burmans, Langen) or 'delaying his doom' (Mozley, Caviglia, Dräger), imply that Cyzicus' movements affect the time of his death, which is not the focus here (contrast 1.764). **Pelasgum:** the usual enemies of the people of Cyzicus (cf. 2.656–8), with whom the Argonauts are being confused (45, 126–7). Here this misconception is explicitly attributed to Cyzicus. While he understands just before his death why he has to die (235–8, 241–2), there is no indication that he realizes by whom he is killed.

223 ouans: Cyzicus is under the false impression that the enemies have been thrust back (221–3) and therefore rejoices: this delusion contrasts with his imminent death at the hands of the victorious Argonauts. **† auditus †:** the transmitted text must hide another object in addition to *gaudia*, while the two words need not be entirely parallel in sense, as the variation in pronouns may suggest (*tales ... ea*). An expression describing Cyzicus' deception and ill-timed joy is expected (e.g. *tales spes atque*), but none of the proposed emendations is entirely convincing.

223–4 fingit | ira deum: the 'gods' are said to be responsible for creating Cyzicus' false impressions and resulting emotions. Again (see 40, 43–57nn.) the terms for the divine entity vary: the gods are referred to in the plural; in view of both *ira* as a motivation (cf. 27) and what follows, the agent is likely to be Cybele.

224–8 fundo ueluti ... | ... | ... | ... Hydrae: this simile, illustrating Cyzicus' elated feelings and hopes that will not be realized, creates a frame

for the battle narrative, corresponding to the similes describing Cyzicus' path into battle (65–9 with nn.).

224 fundo ... in imo 'in the very depths of the underworld' (*OLD fundus* 1b). A similar phrase (at the end of a line) describes the location of the titans in Virgil's *Aeneid* (6.580–1 *hic genus antiquum Terrae, Titania pubes, | fulmine deiecti fundo uoluuntur in imo*). **Coeus**: a titan, often mentioned as one of the giants by Roman authors (cf. *Typhon* at 130). When the giants tried to overthrow Jupiter, they were thrust back and punished (e.g. Virg. *G.* 1.278–83, Serv. auct. ad Virg. *Aen.* 4.179 '*Coeo Enceladoque*' *isti gigantes fuerunt inter alios, qui Iouem superpositis montibus regno caelesti detrudere conati, fulminibus sunt deleti*). Coeus' attempt to escape from the underworld is not attested elsewhere.

225 fractoque ... adamante: *-que* links the nouns *uincla* and *catenas*, surrounding *fracto* and forming a hendiadys (for such a position of *-que* cf. 1.103, 844, 848, 2.224, 268, 431, 3.233, 561, 6.384, 7.157). Coeus' supernatural force enables him to break 'the hardest of all substances' (*OLD adamas* 1a).

226 Saturnum: identified with the Greek Kronos, father of Zeus/Jupiter, since the beginnings of Roman poetry. Kronos was one of the titans, later overwhelmed by Zeus and his accomplices and thrown into Tartarus. **Tityumque**: even though this is the only passage where the name Tityos (in the nom. or acc.) has been Latinized, presumably because of the proximity of *Saturnum* (see Scherling 1937: 1593), it can be kept (though occasionally changed to the Greek form *Tityon*). Tityos/Tityus is either the son of Elara, sometimes seen as nursed by Earth (e.g. AR 1.761–2), or the son of the Earth (e.g. Hom. *Od.* 11.576; cf. also Virg. *Aen.* 6.595). Especially in Latin poetry he is often characterized as a giant. He is punished for his sins by eternally suffering in Tartarus (cf. Hom. *Od.* 11.576–81, Virg. *Aen.* 6.595–600, Sen. *HF* 976–8, *Thy.* 804–9, Stat. *Theb.* 1.709–10). **spemque aetheris**: Coeus hopes to get back to earth, enjoying 'the upper air' (*OLD aether* 3b), and therefore starts on a return journey through Hades (Lieberman). The phrase has also been seen as indicating a hope for Olympus (Mozley, Caviglia) or as denoting expectations of success (Spaltenstein).

227 fluuiis et nocte remensa: as Coeus tries to get to the upper world, he goes through the rivers (such as Styx or Acheron) and darkness of the underworld in the reverse direction (i.e. with respect to the standard movement into the underworld). The darkness of night stands for the underworld (*OLD nox* 5b; cf. 291, 5.94, Sil. 13.708); *remensa* (*OLD remetior* 2a), applying to both words, agrees with the nearest noun.

228 Eumenidum canis: the 'dog of the Eumenides' is probably not a paraphrase for the Eumenides/Furies (cf. Serv. ad Virg. *Aen.* 3.209 *apud inferos furiae dicuntur et canes*, also AR 4.1665–7), but rather an underworld dog associated with Furies, perhaps Cerberus. Changing *Eumenidum canis* to the well-attested collocation *tergeminus canis* (e.g. Lieberman) would make this reference clear, but such a word is unlikely to be corrupted into *Eumenidum*. **sparsae iuba ... Hydrae**: Hydra is here a monster in Tartarus (cf. Virg. *Aen.* 6.576–7 *quingenta atris immanis hiatibus Hydra | saeuior intus habet sedem*) rather than the Hydra of Lerna or the snakes of Furies (cf. 2.194–5). This Hydra seems to be envisaged as a kind of serpent with several heads (*sparsae*) with crests (for *iuba* with reference to serpents cf. 8.88, Virg. *Aen.* 2.206–7). *sparsae* is more likely to refer to the appearance of the monster (*OLD spargo* 3) than to its movement (thus Langen; criticized by Fletcher 1933, Spaltenstein). **reppulit**: a singular predicate, agreeing with the nearest noun (G–L §285), perhaps emphasizing each of the subjects (Merone 1957: 36–7).

229 saeuit: i.e. Cyzicus. **acerba fremens**: on the function of the adjective see 198n.; for the phrase cf. Virg. *Aen.* 12.398 *acerba fremens*, *Cul.* 325 *acerba fremunt*, Ov. *Her.* 8.107. **tardumque a moenibus agmen**: a qualifying description from Cyzicus' point of view: he believes that his fighters are slow to come into battle from the town (a prepositional phrase connected with an adjective). Since in VF Cyzicus' death happens at the end of the battle, the activities of several fighters from Cyzicus have been described: some of them left the town eager to join battle. Therefore Cyzicus' criticism does not seem justified. However, the speech is designed to characterize his perception of the situation and his attitude to his men.

230–1 numquamne ... | ... manus: Cyzicus criticizes his people for slackness in fighting, claiming that they will never have the motivation and courage to act bravely without their king (the 'hands' symbolizing the men's fighting prowess). Again (see 229n.), while it was said at the beginning that men follow Cyzicus into battle (71–3), some of the Cyzican fighters seem to have taken action independently. **dolor** 'a feeling of resentment, indignation', i.e. against opponents (*OLD* 3; cf. Virg. *Aen.* 8.500–1 *quos iustus in hostem | fert dolor*).

231 barbara buxus: the boxwood flute is an element in the cult of Cybele (cf. 1.319 *Idaeam ... buxum*, 2.583, Virg. *Aen.* 9.619–20 *lympa uos buxusque uocat Berecynthia Matris | Idaeae*, Ov. *Pont.* 1.1.45, *Ciris* 166, Claud. *Rapt. Pros.* 2.267–8; see Graillot 1912: 256 and n. 2). When Cyzicus qualifies it as 'barbarian', he applies this description to an item in his own country (whose civilization and similarity to the customs of the

Argonauts he stressed earlier: 2.646–8). In Cyzicus' mouth the term might indicate that he has no understanding for this cult, so that he regards it and its instruments as 'barbarian': the word can have the broad sense of 'ignorant, uncivilized, unpolished, uncouth' (*OLD barbarus* 2) in various contexts (1.451, 517, 2.111, 150, 241, 3.643, 5.425, 522, 6.556, 8.148, 251, 292). It could also describe the cult of Cybele as something foreign from a Roman point of view.

232 uocet: a singular predicate, agreeing with the nearest noun (see 228 n.). **motis ... sacris:** this sketch is probably based on processions as they were held in Rome at the festival of the Megalensia in Cybele's honour (cf. Lucr. 2.600–60; see Summers 1996). *mouere sacra* then has the literal sense of 'moving sacred objects' (cf. 5.398 *sacraque terrificae supplex mouet inrita Nocti*, Virg. *Aen.* 4.301 *commotis excita sacris*, Serv. auct. ad Virg. *Aen.* 4.301 *uerbo antiquo usum tradunt; moueri enim sacra dicebantur, cum sollemnibus diebus aperiebantur templa instaurandi sacrificii causa*). **ululantia Dindyma** 'Dindyma howling with religious excitement' (*OLD ululo* 2c; cf. 19 *Dindyma ... bacchata* with n.). For *ululo* applied to places rather than to humans uttering sounds cf. 4.608 *ululataque tellus*, Virg. *Aen.* 2.487–8 *penitusque caruae plangoribus aedes | femineis ululant*, Claud. *Rapt. Pros.* 2.269; for the verb in connection with the cult of Cybele see also Luc. 1.566–7; on the semantic development of *ululatus* see Zissos on 1.318–19.

233 placeatque: *-que* links the nouns *ensis* and *furor* surrounding the verb (see 225 n.). The nouns combine to describe the appropriate weapon and the relevant state of mind, which can be applied to both warfare and the cult of Cybele (see 19 n.). **tela:** in contrast to *ensis*, the usual weapon in the context of self-mutilation of Cybele's worshippers (cf. e.g. Claud. *Rapt. Pros.* 2.270 *strictos Curetum respicis enses*), *telum* denotes a missile weapon. However, the word can also be used for weapons in general (*OLD* 3); it seems to be employed in the sense of 'dagger' (a plausible meaning here) at Tac. *Ann.* 15.55.1 *telum quoque in necem eius paratum ostendit*.

234 porrigat: the text adopts Shackleton Bailey's (1977: 204) punctuation after *porrigat*, thus ending the subordinate clause introduced by *modo* at this point and making the subsequent *et* link *placeat* and *exuberet*, the verbs in the main clause. **iussa sanguis exuberet ulna** 'upon command, blood would surge up from the forearm' (cf. 19); i.e. priests provide knives (see 233 n.); according to their instructions (*iussa* as a transferred epithet) devotees cut themselves in the arms; blood pours forth from the wounds. **sanguis:** scanned with a long final syllable. The form *sanguis* only occurs once in VF as in Virgil (*Aen.* 10.487); it appears also in Lucan and Silius Italicus and is standard in Lucretius (see Schenkl 1871: 25, Strand 1972: 89, Zissos lxxv; see 199–200 n.).

235 talibus insultans: the object is still *tardum ... agmen* (229), as for *increpita* (230), the verb before the direct speech. **iamdudum** 'now after all this time' (*OLD dudum* 3): while the entire battle has been engineered to punish Cyzicus, his death occurs at the point of another 'insult' to the goddess. **diuae:** i.e. Cybele.

236 infracti 'weakened' (*OLD infringo* 2a). **frigore** 'chilliness caused by fear', 'fear' (*OLD* 3b; cf. Virg. *Aen.* 1.92 *extemplo Aeneae soluantur frigore membra*, Ov. *Met.* 11.416–17).

237–8 audit ... | ... turres: a vision of Cybele with her usual characteristics appears to Cyzicus (for a vision of the attributes of Cybele cf. Sil. 17.41–3 *fremitusque leonum | audiri uisus subito, et grauiora per aures | nulla pulsa manu sonuerunt tympana diuae*). For *cornua* ('horns') as musical instruments (a kind of flute) in the cult of Cybele cf. Lucr. 2.619, Catull. 64.263, also Ov. *Past.* 4.181–2; for details see Graillot 1912: 256; for lions and the turreted crown as Cybele's attributes see 22–3 n. For similar phrasing, in a different context, cf. Virg. *Aen.* 7.15 *exaudiri gemitus iraeque leonum*. **motas:** Cybele moves her head with the turreted crown. **inter nubila:** rather 'in the air', 'among the clouds' than 'in the darkness', 'in the mist', since this is a vision experienced by Cyzicus (*OLD nubilus* 2b; cf. Virg. *Aen.* 4.177 *inter nubila*).

239 grauis et certo tendens stridore 'striking with force and progressing with unerring whizzing': this description of the weapon's flight stresses the inevitability of the death-bringing blow (*OLD grauis* 3). **per umbram** 'through the darkness': therefore a perfectly aimed shot is surprising. This again points to divine involvement, unless one assumes that Jason directs the weapon against a silhouette he has caught sight of (Spaltenstein).

240 Aesonii ... hasta ducis 'the lance of the Aesonian leader', i.e. 'of the leader who is Aeson's son' (a patronymic referring to Jason; see 8 n.; cf. 4.7–8). The impersonal phrasing, with the lance (see 11 n.) rather than Jason as subject, limits the role of the agent (cf. 284–5; see 150–60, 220–42 nn.): Jason does not hit Cyzicus in full awareness of his identity but rather happens to strike him down in the night-time battle.

240–1 latumque sub imo | pectore rumpit iter: that the weapon causes a huge wound deep into Cyzicus' chest (*OLD sub* A1c) emphasizes the deadly force of the blow.

241–2 quam nunc ... | ... annos: a concluding comment on Cyzicus' death, expressed by the poet as Cyzicus' thoughts: Cyzicus would now wish (if he were still able to: imperfect subjunctive) that he had never been hunting, since then he would never have been in a situation in which

he might kill a lion of Cybele (for the structure cf. Virg. *Aen.* 6.436–7 *quamuellent aethere in alto | nunc et pauperiem et duros perferre labores!*). Such a wish presupposes that Cyzicus has realized the ultimate cause for his death; his response is not the wish that he had not done the deed, but rather that he had avoided the situation that prompted it altogether. **lustra** ‘the haunts of wild beats; (vaguely) rough or wooded country, wilds’ (*OLD lustrum*¹ 2). **nullosque** emphasizes the negation, instead of the more usual *neque ullos* (G–L §480 and r. 1; cf. 291 *et nullo*). **annos** ‘years of his life’ (*OLD* 6).

14. Conclusion of the battle (243–248)

With Cyzicus’ death (220–42) the fighting has achieved its purpose (249–50). Thus the narrative is brought to a close with a summary and an extrapolation of the battle’s severity (corresponding to 95–8). Its particular features are highlighted again: the darkness makes the fighting difficult and horrible (244–5). The Argonauts are successful (243–4), whereas the people of Cyzicus experience destruction: if the fighting had continued much longer, they might have been completely wiped out (246–8). The allusion to the length of the night picks up the preceding overview (210–11) and prepares for a smooth transition to Jupiter’s intervention, preventing the envisaged consequences (249–50).

243–4 talia ... | tela: this transition (in wide hyperbaton) links the narrative of a single incident with a generalizing concluding statement (*OLD talis* 2a): like Jason, the other Argonauts send out deadly weapons. **magnanimi ... | ... uiri**: the fighters (in another wide hyperbaton), i.e. the Argonauts (cf. 6.116), with a standard epithet for heroes (e.g. 1.634–5, 3.646, 707, 7.556–7). **diuerso turbine fundunt | tela**: the warriors throw missiles with whirling motion in various places (on *diuerso* see 113n.; on *turbo* see 78n.; on *fundo* cf. Virg. *Aen.* 11.610–11 *fundunt simul undique tela | crebra*).

244–5 sonitusque ... | explorant: since the fighters cannot see anything, they explore the sounds of feet and anything else suspicious by groping around (cf. Ov. *Mel.* 10.455–6 *nutricisque manum laeua tenet, allera motu | caecum iter explorat*). **prensant socios**: warriors clutch men whom they regard as members of their own party and then try to confirm this assumption. There is tragic irony since all men involved in this battle are *socii* (cf. 30). **uocemque reposcunt**: *reposco* implies that the warriors first identify themselves by the sound of their own voices and then demand the same from their interlocutors (cf. Virg. *Aen.* 2.376–7 *dixit, et extemplo (neque enim reponsa dabantur | fida satis) sensit medios delapsus in hostis*). The potential consequence that this interaction might lead to the realization of the true identity of the opponents (cf. 169–72) is ignored.

246–8 quod si ... | ... gentem: if the battle had lasted until a late dawn, the *gens* would have been wiped out. The context and the reference to *per moenia matres* indicate that this prospect applies to the male population of Cyzicus. This is a brief instance of what Nesselrath has called ‘almost episodes’ in Greek and Roman epic (1992: 122–3): a possible continuation of the plot is hinted at, but not realized. **lues**: in the sense of ‘destruction in battle’ also at 6.400, hence an early and generally accepted emendation. **seros ... in ortus** picks up the motif that this night is particularly long (210–11 with n.). **per moenia** ‘throughout the city’ (cf. 63, 7.374), though the concept of *teichoskopia* may be alluded to. **matres**: the married female inhabitants (*OLD* 1c; cf. 2.80, 3.282, 315). **stratamque ... gentem**: the male population, taking up *extinctum genus*: what is left of the male population will lie dead on the shore. **dies**: personified (subject of *uidisset*): the day bringing light reveals the events of the night.

F. Jupiter’s ending the fighting and the humans realizing the situation (249–272)

When the battle has achieved its goal with Cyzicus’ death (220–42) and its continuation might lead to the extinction of an entire people (243–8), Jupiter’s thundering ends the fighting (249–53). Elsewhere in epic the motif that the leader’s death terminates a battle is typically linked with the description of a human reaction (cf. Hom. *Il.* 16.659–62, Virg. *Aen.* 11.868–71, Sil. 5.658–9). Yet that Jupiter prevents excessive carnage by his thunder is also a Homeric motif (*Il.* 8.133–5).

Jupiter has not been mentioned as an agent in VF’s battle scene so far. Apparently he has allowed Cybele to carry out her revenge; how Jupiter could bear such events is what the narrator asks at the beginning (17–18). Now Jupiter stops extreme suffering by changing the *fata* (249–50). As on other occasions in VF, Jupiter prevents excesses (e.g. 4.1–3, 58–81, 414–16, 5.672–89; see e.g. Adamietz 1976a: 44, Schenk 1999: 255, Groß 2003: 188–9). In AR, where Cyzicus’ death is narrated at the beginning (1.1030–9), the fighting is not concluded by divine intervention: after the people of Cyzicus have incurred losses, those remaining flee back to the town (1.1049–52). In VF they also flee, but in reaction to the end of the fighting (253–5), caused by Jupiter’s thundering nod (251–3). Since the Argonauts are equally terrified, they do not pursue their opponents (255–6).

A deictic *ecce* (257) marks the dawn of a new day, which means both a physical change and a change in awareness for the humans (on references to day and night in VF see Gärtner 1998): first the Argonauts (259–66)

and then the surviving inhabitants of Cyzicus (267–9) understand what has happened. The helmsman Tiphys is the first to voice a reaction (259–61), since his divinely instigated sleep brought the Argo back to Cyzicus (32–42). He attributes the events to the gods of the sea, as he cannot know the actual forces (see 259–60n.). The other Argonauts are horrified at their deeds and paralysed (262–3). When the surviving inhabitants of Cyzicus come out of the town and recognize their opponents as their former guests, they flee (267–9). This provokes a passionate exclamation from Jason, addressed to them (270–2). The lack of a reaction emphasizes the gulf now existing between the two parties. AR just reports that in the light of the following day both sides realize their error and are seized by grief (1.1053–6).

249 pater omnipotens: a paraphrase for Jupiter. The epithet was introduced into Latin poetry by Ennius (Enn. *Ann.* 451 W. = 447 Sk., *Trag.* 141 R.^{2–3} = 187 W. = 59.1 *TrRF*) and refers to Jupiter when used without a name (e.g. 1.591). **tempus iam:** supply *esse*; the infinitive construction depends on *ratus* and governs the infinitive in the following line.

250 flectere fata: Jupiter's power is presented as surpassing that of the *fata* (cf. 1.533–4; see Intro. 2.5). **miserasque ... pugnas:** the description of the battle as 'grievous' (cf. 4.455 *miserrima pugna*) agrees with the poet's assessment in the invocations to the Muses (14–18, 212–19). It is not clear whether this epithet is focalized through the poet (thus Franchet d'Espèrey 1998: 215) or through Jupiter. In Statius Jupiter ends a battle by bringing on night because he pities not the main opponents but rather the many others involved (*Theb.* 10.1–4).

251 supremam celerauit opem 'he swiftly brought decisive help'. In this critical moment only the supreme god can provide relief; two nuances of *supremus* are implied (*OLD supremus* 6 '(esp. of battles) decisive, final; (of a time) critical, desperate', 7 '(esp. of Jupiter) most exalted, sovereign, supreme').

251–2 nutuque sereno | intonuit 'he thundered with a tranquil nod'. Lightning and/or thunder from a clear sky (*OLD serenus* 1a) often forebode evil (cf. Virg. *G.* 1.487–8, Luc. 1.522–35; for Jupiter's thunder cf. 1.690–2; for its affecting other gods cf. 1.591–3, 4.414–16). The collocation *nutu ... sereno* suggests a combination of Zeus' Homeric nodding (*Il.* 1.524–30) and the Roman notion of thunder from a clear sky. *serenus* also appears as a title of Jupiter (*CIL* 6.431, 433).

252 Nocte satae: for the Erinyes (or: Furies, Eumenides) as daughters of the night cf. Virg. *Aen.* 7.331 (to Allecto) *uirgo sata Nocte*, Serv. ad Virg. *Aen.* 6.250 '*matri Eumenidum*' *id est Nocti*.

252–3 turbidus 'wild' (*OLD* 5a). **Armipotens:** i.e. the war god Mars; a common appellation (cf. e.g. Lucr. 1.32–3, Ov. *Fast.* 5.559). For the combination of Mars and Furies cf. also 6.178–9.

253 porta trucidis coit infera belli 'the infernal gate of savage war closes'. The wording seems inspired by the Roman practice of closing the gates of the building dedicated to Janus in times of peace and opening them during war (cf. Varro, *Ling.* 5.165, Liv. 1.19.2, Virg. *Aen.* 1.293–4, 7.601–15). Elsewhere in VF Jupiter is described as moving 'the great portals of bloody war', just as natural phenomena and other fated events (5.304–8; cf. also Stat. *Theb.* 5.145–6 *ubi arma | indulget pater et saevi mouet ostia belli*). The adjective *infera* suggests a link between war and the underworld (cf. 212; cf. Virg. *Aen.* 6.279–80).

254 dant: the warriors from Cyzicus form the unexpressed subject. **metu:** an ablative of cause.

255 diffugiunt: fearful and confused, the people of Cyzicus flee away from the battlefield over the plain in all directions rather than, for example, back to the town. **quae sola salus:** this relative clause refers to the entire sentence (see G–L §614.2) and does not have a specific antecedent; *quae* is probably short for *quae res*. Since the clause does not have a finite verb (supply a form of *esse*), whose mood could give an indication of its status, it is left open whether this assessment is made from the perspective of the narrator or the characters. The same phrase in the same metrical position, also in the context of a last resort in war, appears at Stat. *Theb.* 10.531–2 *at Tyrii, quae sola salus, caput omne coronant | maurorum*.

255–6 terga ruentum | ... conuersa: a paraphrase for the men who have turned round to flee (cf. 268–9 *dare uersa retrorsus | terga*, Virg. *Aen.* 9.686 *uersi terga dedere*, Ov. *Mel.* 13.879 *terga fugae dederat conuersa Symaethius heros*). On the form *ruentum* see 206n. **mens** 'purpose', 'design', 'intention' (*OLD* 7a); supply *est*. **stetit anxia uirtus:** a poignant reinforcement of the preceding statement. Although the Argonauts remain motionless out of fear, their main characteristic continues to be *uirtus*; the perfect tense might suggest that *uirtus* has been active and now come to a halt. *uirtus* covers both the abstract meaning of 'courage' and the metonymical sense of men with this quality; the latter usage allows the combination with an adjective describing emotions (see Kleywegt 1986: 2475; cf. 6.200 *mixta perit uirtus*, Luc. 3.690 *nec cessat naufraga uirtus*; for a comparable line ending cf. Luc. 8.592 *stetit anxia classis*).

257–8 ecce introduces a new scene, highlighting its visual element (see 60n.). **leui primos ... | orta dies ... turre:** the new day is just

appearing, with only slight light so far (*OLD leuis* 6a); the rising sun starts to light up the harbour area and the town (represented by the towers on the walls). This description illustrates how the truth dawns on the Argonauts as the setting is gradually lit up (for the phrasing cf. Virg. *Aen.* 4.584–5 = 9.459–60 *et iam prima nouo spargebat lumine terras | Tithoni croceum linquens Aurora cubile*, 12.113–14 *postera uix summos spargebat lumine montis | orta dies*). **spargere** ... | ... **albescere**: historic infinitives (see 63n.), with different subjects. **notaeque** sums up the tragedy, especially in juxtaposition with *nefas*. (**nefas**): a parenthetical comment by the narrator (see 186n.): the light of the new day reveals what happened; the battle now appears as *nefas* (cf. 14 *infanda* ... *proelia*, 30 *impia bella*).

259–60 di maris ... | ... **somno**: Tiphys realizes that his falling asleep at the helm (37–42) caused the disaster (it remains unclear when he woke up and whether he participated in the fighting). When he claims that this was due to the ‘gods of the sea’, he does not excuse himself or accuse these gods but rather voices his sorrow (similarly Jason at 271–2; see Schönberger 1965: 130). Tiphys can only imagine that the ‘gods of the sea’ would affect his sailing. In fact, his sleep was caused ‘by orders of gods’ (40); and Cybele is behind the course of events (see 32–42, 40nn.).

259 attonito conclamat ab agmine Tiphys: while the Argonauts as a group are ‘stupefied’, Tiphys is the first to voice their feelings. This activity contrasts with his falling asleep (32–42). For *ab agmine* (*OLD* ab 16b) in the same metrical position cf. Virg. *Aen.* 9.375 *conclamat ab agmine Volcens*, Stat. *Theb.* 4.809 *conclamat ab agmine primus*.

260 ut: exclamatory (*OLD* 2a). **mea** ... **pectora**: emphatic paraphrase for *me* (cf. 1.643 *mulcens mea pectora*). **fatali** ‘fateful’, ‘fatal’, ‘leading to destruction’ (*OLD* 4) rather than ‘fated’ (Lieberman). **damnastis** ‘you have delivered over to’ (+ dat.); syncopated perfect form instead of *damnauistis* (*OLD* 4b). Cf. Luc. 9.363 *numquam somno damnatus lumina serpens*.

261 socii: i.e. the Argonauts (*socii* in a narrow sense; see 244–5n.). **monstris** ‘monstrous events’, ‘horrors’ (*OLD* 2).

262–3 neque ... **gemitus neque conscia facti | ora leuant** ‘they lift neither a groan nor their faces conscious of the deed’; transferred epithet and zeugmatic construction, with the collocation *gemitus leuare* not attested earlier (see Kleywegt 1986: 2466). **exsanguis** ‘pale’ because of horror, fear and grief (*OLD* 2).

264–6 ceu ... | ... **tauri**: this simile compares the situation of the Argonauts with that of Pentheus’ mother (*Thyias*), who (together with other Bacchantes) killed her son, believing him to be a bull (according to a version of the myth), in a bacchic frenzy, and later realized what she had

done (e.g. Eur. *Bacch.* 1043–329). The precise circumstances differ in that Pentheus’ mother is unaware of what she is doing because of direct divine influence, while the Argonauts do not realize it because of the darkness, with the whole situation caused by the gods. However, in both cases people kill others close to them and are appalled when they recognize the identity of their victims (see also Bernstein 2008: 53; on the simile see Fitch 1976: 177). Lucan uses a comparison with Pentheus and Agaue to illustrate the situation of soldiers after a civil war battle (Luc. 7.779–80). Hershkowitz (1998b: 39–41) sees the simile in VF as contributing to destabilizing epic norms, since an image deriving from tragedy and associated with women is applied to men, who are thereby shown not to be proper heroes in epic. A parallelization of Cyzicus and Pentheus (thus Shelton 1971: 133) does not seem to be the focus of the simile. **ad crines et tristia Pentheos ora**: Pentheus’ mother realizes her deed when she begins to recognize his features (*OLD* ad 33a). The ‘wretched’ face implies that in its mutilated state it is a sorry sight. **Pentheos**: genitive of Greek declension (on Greek names in VF see 65–7n.). **Thyias**: Pentheus’ mother is not identified by her name (Agaue) but rather by her role as a Bacchante (scanned as a disyllabic), with reference to her state when she killed him (cf. 5.80–1, 8.446–7, Hor. *Carm.* 3.15.10, Virg. *Aen.* 4.301–3, Ov. *Fast.* 6.514, Stat. *Theb.* 12.791–2). **impulsae** ... **agmine matris**: *agmen* refers to the troop of Bacchantes led by Pentheus’ mother (*OLD* 4a; on the construction see 217n.); *impulsae* implies that she was driven by bacchic frenzy instigated by the god. **deus**: i.e. Lat. Bacchus, Gr. Dionysus.

267 nec minus: a transition formula (*OLD* minus 3b), common in Virgil (e.g. *Aen.* 1.633, 3.482, 11.203) and found in VF a number of times (2.426, 542, 3.611, 630, 4.56, 5.375, 416, 6.350, 542, 7.23). Here it marks the transition from the Argonauts’ reaction to daybreak (259–66) to that of the surviving inhabitants of Cyzicus (267–9). **effusi grandaeuum** ... **uulgus**: a construction according to sense since *uulgus* denotes a group of people (G–L §211 r. 1, Merone 1957: 45; cf. Virg. *Aen.* 6.580–1, 6.660, Stat. *Theb.* 2.523–4). **grandaeuum** ... **uulgus**: the elderly population, who did not take part in the fighting.

268 ut socias uidere manus: the people in the town realize that this has been a fight against their former guests when they recognize the Argonauts upon coming to the shore. *socias* ... *manus* may mean ‘allied troops’ or stand metonymically for *socii*; then the paraphrase emphasizes that the hands first pledged friendship and then caused destruction (cf. 13, 17, 30; see 16–18n.).

268–9 dare ... | ... metu: as soon as they understand that the opponents are friends, the elderly inhabitants of Cyzicus turn round and flee, just as the surviving fighters (254–5). However, there is an audience for Jason's subsequent address (270–2), and immediately afterwards people from Cyzicus are on the battlefield looking after their dead relatives (274–9). **dare:** a historic infinitive (see 63n.).

269 dextram tendens proclamat Iason: Jason tries to re-establish the previous relationship founded on trust: he stretches out his right hand, in a gesture of appeal (cf. 4.145, Virg. *Aen.* 12.311), perhaps attempting to turn the hand back from a murderous force to a sign of friendship (see 268n.).

270 quos fugitis? In a scene that is a foil to Cyzicus' death in many ways (see 274–361, 286–313nn.) Aeneas similarly addresses the Latins after the battle in which Pallas is killed (Virg. *Aen.* 11.108–9 *quaenam uos tanto fortuna indigna, Latini, | implicuit bello, qui nos fugialis amicos?*). Since Aeneas also uses such an exclamation when the shades of his father Anchises and of Dido vanish (Virg. *Aen.* 5.741–2 *Aeneas 'quo deinde ruis? quo proripis?' inquit, | 'quem fugis? aut quis te nostris complexibus arceat?'*; 6.466 *'quem fugis? extremum falo, quod te adloquor hoc est'*; cf. also *Ecl.* 2.60 *quem fugis, a! demens?*), it is highly charged. Structurally, the question recalls *quo ruitis?* (Virg. *Aen.* 12.313) at the beginning of another speech delivered with outstretched hand (see 269n.).

270–1 uellem ... | ... magis: equals *mallem*, with *magis* separated from *uellem* and thus emphatic. For the perfect infinitive after *uelle* see G–L §280.

271–2 deus haec, deus: Jason makes a god responsible for the events in an attempt to explain what has happened; in contrast to Tiphys (259–60), he does not identify a divinity. After a similar remark in an earlier scene, Jason identifies Jupiter in the next phrase (1.245–7 *deus haec, deus omini dextro | imperat; ipse suo uoluit commercia mundo | Iuppiter et ...*). Such exclamations with repeated *deus* (normally separated by another word) mark revelatory moments (see Wills 1996: 61, with examples). **haec ... utrisque | implicuit** 'he has inflicted this upon both of us'. The more common construction would be *utrosque his implicuit* (*OLD* *implico* 7). This construction, with *utrisque* placed at the end of the line, puts an emphasis on the people involved and stresses that both sides are equally affected.

272 sumus ... turba: Jason identifies his group by their name and defines them as former guests, indicating that this relationship has not changed. *sumus ... turba* is a construction according to sense (see 97, 267,

278–9nn.), eased by the preceding *sumus ... Minyae* (on *Minyae* see 74n.); the repetition of *sumus* is again an emotional gemination (see 271–2n.). **en:** an exclamation, calling for attention, here parenthetical without influencing the construction (*OLD* 2).

G. Lament and funerals (274–361)

This long passage depicts how the people of Cyzicus and the Argonauts express their grief and perform funerary rites; it thus shows that, despite the terrible fighting, there is still some unity between them. The scene opens with a description of the overwhelming sorrow upon finding the dead and especially king Cyzicus (274–85). The focus is then extended by two complementary 'funeral speeches', delivered by Jason (286–313) and Cyzicus' wife Clite (314–31). The two speeches, showing the impact of Cyzicus' death on those unwittingly responsible and those left behind, illustrate the atmosphere vividly and pathetically. They are apparently envisaged as spoken between the discovery of Cyzicus' body and the funerary rites (on the speeches see Eigler 1988: 48–58; on lament in Roman epic see Fantham 1999). The last part of this section again encompasses all involved when the people of Cyzicus and the Argonauts carry out funerary ceremonies (332–61). Thus the grief for the dead fighters from Cyzicus and the arrangements for their funerals form a frame around the two speeches, with both elements roughly being of equal length (on the structure see Burck 1981: 455–9; contrast Spaltenstein 1991: 89–91).

In AR, upon becoming aware of the confusion during the night-time battle, both sides are seized by grief, lament for three days and then bury Cyzicus with the appropriate rites (1.1053–62). His wife Clite commits suicide (1.1063–5); nymphs bewail her, and their tears create a fountain named after her (1.1065–9). The inhabitants of Cyzicus initially do not take any food and then for a long time do not use fire or the cornmill, which explains another ritual (1.1070–7). These *aitia* play a prominent role; that a catastrophe has affected the people on Cyzicus is expressed (1.1070–1) but not elaborated on beyond a description of the fate of king and queen.

VF's scene recalls the grief at Pallas' death in Virgil's *Aeneid*, when Aeneas and Pallas' father Euander express their sorrow (11.42–58, 152–81): a recent close friend and a near relative bewail a dead person, who died in a war in which the friend participated. In VF the emotional tension is heightened since Jason has lost a friend (rather than a friend's son) and is directly responsible. Besides, there is no positive perspective coming from a heroic death, unlike in Virgil (11.55–7, 169–72). The juxtaposition of two sorrowful speeches by a man and a woman upon the

death of a warrior occurs after Hector's death in Homer's *Iliad*, when his father Priam and his mother Hecuba voice their grief (22.405–36). The sequence of lamenting speeches followed by a description of funeral rites is found in the *Iliad* after the deaths of Patroclus and Hector (23.4–261, 24.707–804).

1. Sorrow, especially at Cyzicus' death (274–285)

This section demonstrates the general sorrow and care for the dead: the surviving inhabitants of Cyzicus rush among the dead bodies, recognize their relatives and express their individual grief (274–9). When Cyzicus' body is found, all attention is directed towards him (280–3). Finally, the focus moves to the other side and shows the Argonauts equally sad; they lament the *nefas* and console the *sors* of their leader Jason (283–5): Jason has committed a crime; but because it was accidental, they empathize with him. Although both parties grieve over the same event, each side looks at it from its specific perspective.

274 exsanguis confertae caedis aceruos 'dense heaps of bloodless dead bodies', expressed with two transferred epithets and an abstract noun (*caedis*; *OLD* 3a) as a collective singular (cf. Virg. *Aen.* 10.245 *ingentis Rutulae* ... *caedis aceruos*, 11.207, Stat. *Theb.* 5.249, Sil. 1.453, 5.665).

275 praecipiti plangore ruunt: the adjective (another transferred epithet) characterizes the subject of the clause. This subject is not expressed and is initially ambiguous; the following sentence reveals the surviving people of Cyzicus as the agents.

275–6 agnoscit ... | ... **coniunx**: the female inhabitants of Cyzicus recognize their dead male relatives by the equipment they have made and given to them (cf. Virg. *Aen.* 9.457–8 *agnoscunt spolia inter se galeamque nitentem* | *Messapi et multo phaleras sudore receptas*, Stat. *Theb.* 12.312–15). **uirum**: genitive plural (see 4n.).

277 it ... **caelo**: intense wailing fills the entire area: the two indications of place (*toto* ... *caelo* (abl.) and *sinuosa per aequora*) describe the horizontal (the 'curved plains' or 'curved sea' refer to the shape of the shore; *OLD aequor* 2, 3) and the vertical extent (for the collocation *it toto caelo*, albeit as the only indication of place, cf. Virg. *Aen.* 12.283–4 *it toto turbida caelo* | *tempestas telorum*, also 11.192 *it caelo clamorque uirum clangorque tubarum*).

278–9 pars ... **prensat** | ... **pars** ... **componunt**: a distributive expression: the two instances of *pars* are construed with the singular and plural respectively. Both constructions occur and variation is possible (the plural verb explained as a construction according to sense; see 97, 267, 272nn.),

though this combination is not found elsewhere in VF. **tenues flatus et adhuc stridentia** ... | **uulnera**: this combination suggests that the wounds affect the chest and the noise arises as the victims try to breathe (*OLD flatus* 2a) with pierced lungs (Spaltenstein). In other passages where *stridere* appears in connection with *uulnus* the reference to a chest wound is clear (Virg. *Aen.* 4.689 *infixum stridit sub pectore uulnus*, Stat. *Theb.* 11.642 *stridentem in pectore plagam*). Others interpret that the wounds make a sound because blood is still gushing out of them (Wagner, Langen). The first reading is more natural, in view of the structure of the clause and the meaning of *strido* (*OLD* 1b '(by the passage of wind, air) to whistle, shriek, etc.', where this passage is quoted under '(of chest wounds, etc.)'). **sera** 'belatedly', adjective for adverb *sero* (for predicative or 'adverbial' use of *serus* cf. 1.48, 780, 2.294, 4.705, 7.1, 8.213). **componunt** 'they settle the eyes in a position of rest', i.e. 'close' (*OLD* 4b).

280 at uero marks the transition from general lamenting and attending to all bodies to the discovery of the dead Cyzicus (cf. Virg. *Aen.* 9.452–4).

281–3 ceu ... | **sic** ... **sic**: the comparison illustrates that there is so much grief and attention directed to the dead Cyzicus that nothing seems to be going on elsewhere (cf. Virg. *Aen.* 2.438–9 *hic uero ingentem pugnam, ceu cetera nusquam* | *bella forent, nulli tota morerentur in urbe*). The present subjunctive in the *ceu*-clause (with postponed introductory conjunction) indicates that it is not a description of the actual situation. **tristi sileant** ... **planctu**: *silere* with poetic ablative (of separation) without preposition; according to Kleywegt (1986: 2456), *silere* here is equivalent to *cum silentio vacare*. **famulum**: presumably the servants of the king (cf. 204–6), rather than Cybele's followers (cf. 19). **matrumque**: presumably the married women more broadly (see 246–8n.). **uersa**: supply *est*, and then supply *uersus est* to *dolor* (282). **manus**: probably a summarizing term for the people from Cyzicus, though not yet the Argonauts. The groups identified recall those grieving at Pallas' death in Virgil's *Aeneid* (11.34–5 *circum omnis famulumque manus Troianaque turba* | *et maestum Iliades crinem de more solutae*; see 286–313n.).

283–4 circa ... | **stant**: adverbial *circa* with *stare*, equivalent to *circumstant* (cf. Ov. *Fast.* 3.360 *innumeri circa stantque silentque uiri*, Sen. *Thy.* 1011 *stare circa Tantalum*). The Argonauts are present, but not directly involved in attending to the dead inhabitants of Cyzicus. **lacrimis ac mentibus aegri** 'sick with tears and in their minds'. The two ablatives are most likely parallel (as ablatives of respect) in a zeugmatic construction (cf. Stat. *Ach.* 1.686 *aegram lacrimis*).

284–5 cuspidis ictus | **Aesoniae**: the phrasing is reminiscent of the description of Pallas' wound in Virgil's *Aeneid* (11.40–1 *leuique patens in pectore*

uulnus | *cuspidis Ausoniae*), just before the speech of Aeneas recalled by Jason's subsequent speech (see 286–313n.): in VF the arrangement of words is different (cf. also Virg. *Aen.* 7.756 *Dardaniae* . . . *cuspidis ictum*), and the indication of the place of the wound has been postponed to Jason's speech (287–8 with n.). Thereby the realization and reaction of the Argonauts are developed in three steps: they bewail Cyzicus' death as a *nefas* (284; cf. 258); they lament Jason's responsibility (probably obvious in the daylight from the lance found in Cyzicus' body; hence the weapon is highlighted here and in 240); they console Jason since the killing was not deliberate murder (285). **Aesoniae**: a patronymic referring to Jason, Aeson's son (cf. 6.653–5; see 240n.); the adjective agrees with a thing that belongs to the person instead of the genitive singular of the person's name (cf. 6.653 *Aesoniae uulnus fatale sed hastae*, Virg. *Aen.* 7.756, 11.40–1; for the construction cf. VF 3.289, 312, 722).

2. Jason's 'funeral speech' (286–313)

The brief introduction to Jason's speech (286–9) emphasizes his grief at the death of a dear friend. The speech (290–313) contains a large number of alliterations, anaphorae, exclamations, questions and short sentences, mirroring the speaker's emotional agitation. Because he has caused the death he bewails, the oration focuses on the situation of the addressee in relation to the speaker and on the consequences for the latter (290–310); hence it does not contain explicit praise of the dead person, as is customary in funeral speeches (see Burck 1970: 552, 1981: 457, Eigler 1988: 49–54; on typical elements of funerary laments see Reiner 1938: esp. 12–13).

Jason laments that the light of day (continuing the motif of light and darkness) has made him realize what happened and congratulates Cyzicus because he does not have to experience the change in their relationship. As in his earlier exclamation (270–1), Jason wishes that he could have died in Cyzicus' place or at least had been warned by prophecies or oracles. He refers the events to 'fortune' and 'gods' (293, 306), and he accuses oracles and seers (see 299–303 with nn., Intro 2.5; see Schönberger 1965: 130, Schubert 1984: 270). Even though Jason still does not know about the goddess Cybele (19–31), he seems to assume that such an unintended deed can only be brought about by divine intervention.

What Jason still regards as permissible (*fas*) after his crime (*nefas*) is showing feelings of sympathy by embracing Cyzicus (309–10). This justifies the posture he has taken up from the beginning (289) and frames the section. The speech ends with a brief address to Jason's companions, asking them to prepare funeral rites for the dead people of Cyzicus (273, 311–13): wherever possible, Jason tries to show that they are still 'friends' (312).

In AR there are no speeches at this point (see 274–361n.). The structure and some motifs in Jason's speech are similar to that of Aeneas to the dead Pallas in Virgil's *Aeneid* (11.42–58). Both Jason and Aeneas are devastated at the death of a friend or the son of a friend in battle, start by addressing the dead person as *miserande* (290) and blame fortune (293); they regret their direct or indirect involvement in the death and are disappointed in their expectations (300–1). Aeneas' speech is preceded by an address to his men (11.14–28), in which he assesses the situation and ends with an order to prepare funeral rites (11.24–8); this last element is included in Jason's single speech (273, 311–13). The notion that the appearance of a person has significantly changed in death (288) recalls the description of Hector in Virgil's *Aeneid*, where, however, the shape of the dead person is contrasted with successes in battle against enemies (2.274–9). In Ovid's *Metamorphoses* Phoebus voices the difficulty of recognizing one's responsibility for the death of a close friend, though unintentionally, with respect to Hyacinthus' death (10.197–201).

286 ille: i.e. Jason, referring back to *ducis* in the preceding line (285). **concretos pingui** . . . **sanguine crines**: echoes Virg. *Aen.* 2.277, of Hector's ghost (see 286–313n.).

287–8 infractaque pectore caro | **tela**: the deadly weapon has been called *hasta* (240) and *cuspis* (284); *tela* (poetic plural) can be seen as a further variation. *pectore* (presumably locative ablative) indicates the place of the wound (see 284–5n.), given as *sub imo* | *pectore* before (240–1; cf. AR 1.1033–4). The preceding descriptions (241 *rumpit iter*, 284 *cuspidis ictus*) seem to suggest that the missile went straight and forcefully into or perhaps through Cyzicus' body; its breaking has not been mentioned so far (cf. Virg. *Aen.* 10.731 *infractaque tela*). *caro* emphasizes the key issue: Jason sees his weapon in the 'dear' chest of his friend.

288 neque hesternos agnouit in hospite uultus: Cyzicus' appearance has changed so dramatically that Jason does not recognize the face of yesterday's host (cf. 1–13; *hesternos* transferred epithet). The term *hospes* increases the contrast, but also indicates that Jason still regards Cyzicus as such. The first three objects of *agnouit* are linked by *-que*, while this last is attached by *neque*: this seems to be a variation of *et* . . . *neque* in the sense of 'while . . . (yet) at the same time not' (*OLD neque* 8b).

289 artus . . . **amicos**: *amicos* is an adjective with *artus* in place of a genitive of a noun (see 284–5n.).

290 te . . . **miserande**: the comparable speech in Virgil's *Aeneid* (see 286–313n.) starts similarly (11.42 *'tene', inquit 'miserande puer, cum ...'*;

cf. also Virg. *Aen.* 10.825–6, Ov. *Met.* 4.110, 11.728). **tamen** must refer to an implied thought (cf. 4.191–2). It contrasts the sadness of Cyzicus' death, just described (286–9) and expressed by *miserande*, with the positive consequence that Cyzicus, unlike Jason, does not have to realize what horrible deeds have been committed and how the bonds of friendship have been broken. The motif also appears in Euander's speech when he congratulates his wife after Pallas' death that she has not lived to see it (Virg. *Aen.* 11.158–9; see 274–361n.; cf. also Ov. *Met.* 13.517–22). **furoris** 'conduct resulting from madness or frenzy, violent behaviour' (*OLD* *furor*² 4). This indicates that Jason assumes, in an attempt at an explanation, that people must have been out of their minds during the fighting.

291–2 nox ... | ... iubar continues the motif of the contrast between light and darkness (see 95–248n.). Daylight revealing the situation is now seen as sorrowful, whereas the night hiding it appears as beneficial. While *iubar* refers to actual daylight, *nox* creates an effective juxtaposition and denotes the 'darkness of the underworld' (*OLD* 5b) or the 'night of death' (*OLD* 6a). **et nullo** emphasizes the negation, which applies to the entire phrase (see 241–2n.). **foedera**: no formal *foedus* between the Argonauts and the people of Cyzicus has been mentioned, but the final act on their first stay, *manibusque datis iunxere penates* (13), suggests that they have pledged loyalty. *foedera* might be inspired by one of the comparable speeches in Virgil's *Aeneid* (11.164–5 *nec uos arguerim, Teucri, nec foedera nec quas | iunximus hospitio dextras*; see 274–361n.).

293 colloquii ... hospitio ... reuexit: highlights that the Argonauts' second stay in fact does not include *colloquium* or *hospitium*. **fortuna**: Jason sees supernatural influence as the reason (cf. Virg. *Aen.* 11.42–3; see 274–361, 286–313nn.); this does not contradict preceding authorial descriptions of divine involvement, which Jason does not know about (see Intro. 2.5).

294 (fatis id defuit unum): Jason feels that Cyzicus' death on top of everything else makes his fate worse (for a similar expression in a speech by Turnus cf. Virg. *Aen.* 12.643–4 *exscindine domos (id rebus defuit unum) | perperiar, dextra nec Drancis dicta refellam?*). When Aeetes tells Jason to help him in the war in Colchis, in order to win the Golden Fleece eventually, Jason feels that another item is added to his fate (5.544–5 *ueniant super haec quoque falo | bella meo?*).

295 speraui 'did I anticipate?' (*OLD* 5): the terrible deed of killing a former host was not expected and contrasts with what the first encounter suggested. For a similar structure, in a less tragic context, cf. Virg. *Aen.* 9.560–1 *increpat his uictor: 'nostrasne euadere, demens, | sperasti te posse*

manus?' **talisue**: nominative singular with the subject Jason ('with such a mind').

296 quod si: a connective particle with some adversative force (*OLD* *quod* 1; see Virg. *Aen.* 11.166–7 *quod si immatura manebat | mors gnatum*): Jason now accepts that the battle was bound to happen (hence indicative): in that case his own death would have been the better option (cf. 270–1). The wish for one's own death in the face of the death of a close friend or relative is a frequent element in funeral speeches (e.g. Hom. *Il.* 22.431–6, Virg. *Aen.* 9.493–7, Ov. *Met.* 10.202–3, Luc. 8.653–6; esp. Virg. *Aen.* 11.162–3 *animam ipse dedissem | atque haec pompa domum me, non Pallanta, referret!*; see 274–361, 286–313nn.).

297 placitum: supply *erat* (parallel to *manebant*).

297–8 haec mea iustius essent | funera 'would this funeral not more justly be mine'. *mea ... | funera* contrasts with *tuus ... error*, describing the imagined reversal from both sides.

298–300 meque ... | ... | arguerem? Some editors regard these clauses as a continuation of the question *nonne ... | funera?* (297–8), others interpret them as statements. The first reading is the more natural, taking this as a sequence of grammatically parallel (and linked) phrases.

298 meque tuus ... plangeret error 'would not rather you in error now bewail me'. *tuus ... error* is a condensed expression with an abstract noun + pronoun (or possessive genitive) as subject instead of personal noun + descriptive phrase (cf. 302 *patriae ... senectae*). From the point of view of the individual responsible the deed is defined as *error*; in a more factual context Jason calls it *nefas* (301 with n.).

299–302 nec Clarii ... | ... | conticuit: according to Jason, he was not told about Cyzicus' death but received some prophetic announcement of future developments. It is left open when and how this may have happened. Jason's taking oracles before the voyage is mentioned nowhere; in VF details tend to be introduced where they have a function in the narrative (see 25, 618nn.). Groß (2003: 191) regards these announcements as implied in Jupiter's so-called plan of the world (1.544–5). Others believe that Jason approached the oracle in Delphi before setting out, as in the mythical tradition (esp. Dräger 1993: 336–55, 1998: 206–8). There is no indication that Jason received information on the purpose of the Argonautic voyage beyond the details of oracular pronouncements he recalls at particular points (see also 617–22; on these oracles see also Río Torres-Murciano 2007: 82–3 and n. 4).

299 Clarii ... antra dei: the 'Clarian god' is Apollo, since there was an oracle at Claros, a place near the Gulf of Ephesus in Ionia. The 'caves' refer to Apollo's oracle at Delphi in Greece. **quercusque Tonantis:** the oak-tree was sacred to Jupiter, often referred to as the 'Thunderer' (see 251–2n.), and represents his oracle in Dodona in Epirus, where the god's voice was heard in the noises of the leaves (Hom. *Od.* 14.327–8, 19.296–7; cf. VF 1.544 (Jupiter speaking) *meae quercus*; see Zissos on 1.302–8).

300 arguerem: in the comparable situation in Virgil's *Aeneid*, Euander chooses not to accuse others (11.164–5 *nec uos arguerim, Teucri, nec foedera nec quas | iunximus hospitio dextras*). **talesne acies, talesne triumphos** emphasizes that these battles and victories (*OLD triumphus* 4) involve sad consequences for the winners (cf. Virg. *Aen.* 11.54 *hi nostri reditus exspectantque triumphum*?).

301 sorte literally refers to conveying prophecies by cleromancy (cf. 2.482–4) but here probably has the broader sense of 'oracular response' (*OLD* 3; cf. 618, 5.528 *antiquae ... uox praescia sortis*). **dabant:** the subject is the oracles; the imperfect may suggest a series of oracular statements.

301–3 tantumque nefas ... | ... canens? Again (see 298–300n.) some editors punctuate this as a question while others see it as a statement or exclamation. *-que* is difficult to interpret if not as connecting this clause with what precedes and thus continuing the question.

301–2 nefas: as the narrator has done from the perspective of the Argonauts (284), Jason characterizes the killing of Cyzicus as a *nefas*; this contrasts with actions Jason later defines as *fas* (309–10 with n.) and with the classification as *error* (298 with n.). The strong term here implies that the seers should have warned of such a deed. **mens conscia** 'the mind sharing knowledge' of the future and divine plans (*OLD conscius* 1). The motif that seers, despite their knowledge, have not revealed everything appears in Virgil's *Aeneid* when at his father's death Aeneas complains that seers have foretold many terrible things but not this incident (3.708–13). In VF the situation is reversed: Jason has been warned of his father's death but not of other horrible events. **conticuit** 'it (i.e. *mens*) was silent about' (*OLD conticesco* 1d). **patriae exitium crudele senectae:** scholars have criticized that an oracle warning Jason of his father's death has not been mentioned before and that throughout the narrative Jason remains unaware of his father's death (1.693–850). At the beginning of book 2 Juno prevents Jason from learning about it (2.1–5); later Jason envisages that his father might have sleepless nights now that the Argo is guided by a less professional helmsman (5.48) and sketches for Medea a picture of his

father Aeson embracing her upon arrival (7.494). But Jason never learns that his father is dead, and according to this prophecy he was told that his old father would suffer a cruel death but not when it would happen (see also Adamietz 1976a: 31 n. 2, Dräger 1993: 354 n. 55). The expression *exitium crudele* appears in the same metrical position in *Ciris* (292 *o bis iam exitium crudele meorum*); *senectae* at the end of a line occurs nearby (*Ciris* 287, 314). These similarities point to a relation between the two texts: Lyne (1971: 250) reads this as an indication of VF's priority. **patriae ... senectae:** a paraphrase with an abstract noun for 'old father' (see 298n.).

303 diuis ... sinistris 'with unfavourable gods' (*OLD sinister* 3): Jason's coming to Cyzicus is now seen as ill-omened and the starting point of the subsequent disaster. **uisa** 'visited' (*OLD uideo* 12).

304 quinam reditus! Editors interpret this as an exclamation or a question. Although *quinam* is rarely attested as introducing exclamations, the short phrase (without a finite verb), taken as an exclamation, is a logical complement to the preceding clause in which Jason considers his first visit to Cyzicus (303–4): he now voices his horror at the kind of return encountered at his second visit.

304–5 quae me ... | ... harenis? These two questions envisage possibilities (or, rather, non-existent possibilities) of where Jason might now turn. The second is an intensification of the first: countries will not only not receive Jason hospitably but even reject him right when he reaches the shore from the sea (cf. Virg. *Aen.* 1.540 *hospitio prohibemur harenae*, 2.69–70 *'heu, quae nunc tellus', inquit, 'quae me aequora possunt | accipere? ...*). In fact, Jason and the Argonauts visit many places during the remainder of their journey; yet their hosts may not be aware that Jason has killed Cyzicus.

306 inuidere ... ne: the first attested example of this construction. The first instance of *inuidere ut* occurs at Virg. *Aen.* 11.269–70 *inuidisse deos, patriis ut redditus aris | coniugium optatum et pulchram Calydonia uiderem?* The collocation *inuidere ne* with divine subject appears in the comparable speech (see 274–361, 286–313n.) in Virgil's *Aeneid* (11.42–3 *'lene', inquit 'miserande puer, cum laeta ueniret, | inuidit Fortuna mihi, ne ...*), but there *inuidere* is linked with objects and the function of the *ne*-clause is therefore different. **dei:** again Jason regards the gods as responsible for the situation; presumably this is another general expression, like *fortuna* (293 with n.).

306–7 Phasidis arua remoti | et Scythicas ... opes: a paraphrase for Colchis. References to Phasis, the main river, often indicate the country. *Scythicus* ('Scythian') is frequently applied to Colchis (e.g. 1.2, 345, 745, 3.307, 496, 617, 653, 4.9). Both expressions are combined in the poem

(1.2–3 *Scythici quae Phasidis oras | ausa sequi*) and in Pelias' initial order (1.43–4 *Aeeles, Scythiam Phasimque rigentem | qui colit*). The epithet *remoti* may have a more 'objective' meaning indicating that the river Phasis is far away from the starting point of the journey, or it could have a more 'subjective' meaning in the sense that Jason still feels far away from their destination. **populatus**: to 'plunder' Scythia is not a key element of Jason's task as set by Pelias (1.40–57), although he presents the enterprise as a military exploit, and bringing back the Golden Fleece can be seen as a single act of 'plunder'. While Jason initially describes the enterprise as a challenging expedition to open up the seas and enable trade between peoples (1.244–9), in this book he characterizes it as a military exploit (81–2, 617; cf. 681), as did his parents (1.345–6, 745); this foreshadows the battles in Colchis (see also 492–500). At the first meeting with Aeetes in Colchis Jason denies any hostile intent (5.471–518).

307–8 haec rursus adirem | litora: Jason seems to assume that, after having finished their business in Colchis, the Argonauts might have stopped again at Cyzicus. In fact, the Argonauts will choose another route for most of the return journey for fear of passing again through the Clashing Rocks, since they do not know that these have been fixed (8.177–201) after they have travelled through them (4.637–710).

308 tuos irem tunc ultor in hostes: Jason envisages that he might have helped to fight the Pelasgians during a stopover on the return journey, just as he had hoped for this to happen during the Argonauts' first stay. However, the phrasing in his first speech is ambiguous: *arma uidebis | hospita nec post hanc ultra tibi proelia noctem* (2.661–2); this is tragically realized in a sense other than he intended. Here the opponents are defined more clearly as *hostes*; *ultor* suggests that such a fight would be in revenge for past attacks of the Pelasgians.

309–10 fas ... fas: the anaphoric repetition emphasizes the contrast (*tamen*) between the *fas* still possible for Jason and his killing of Cyzicus (301 *nefas*; cf. 284). What is left for Jason is to show his feelings of sympathy physically; this is what he does while he speaks (289). **conferre ... | ... artus**: three expressive phrases describe the notion of embracing, adding different connotations in a kind of *tricolon crescendo*: putting cheeks together, surrounding the chest with the arms, embracing the body.

273 moved here by almost all editors since Thilo (but see Schenkl 1871: 19). In this place the line forms a transition from the section of the speech concerned with Jason and his relationship to Cyzicus and reflecting on past events (290–310) to the part addressed to Jason's men (311 *uos*) and initiating compensatory activity in the present (311–13). **etiam**: *etiam*

emphasizes that the Argonauts have not only killed people of Cyzicus but also delayed their funerary ceremonies. Reading *autem* (Poortvliet 1994: 493) might make the transition smoother but looks like a simplification. **flammas**: metonymically 'funeral pyres'.

311 age: independent interjection; therefore followed by plural imperatives (see Romeo 1907: 255). **funereas ... siluas** 'trees for the funeral (pyres)'. *silua* can be used poetically for trees or branches of trees (*OLD* 3; cf. 427); the plural *arbores* is metrically impossible in hexameter verse. Still, *silua* may have a hyperbolic dimension (cf. 332 *nudatis montibus*). The adjective may also indicate trees associated with funerals such as cypresses (cf. Virg. *Aen.* 3.63–4, 6.216–17).

312 socios ... rogos: i.e. *rogos sociorum* (for the construction see 284–5n.): Jason still regards the people of Cyzicus as 'companions'. **lustrate**: the next step after the erection of the pyres: moving round them in a solemn ceremony (*OLD* 2; cf. 347–8, Ov. *Met.* 13.610 *terque rogam lustrant*, Stat. *Theb.* 6.215–16 *lustrantque ex more sinistro | orbe rogam*).

312–13 date debita caesis | munera ... igni: Jason asks his men to give 'funeral rites' (*OLD munus* 1d) to the dead; he adds that in the opposite situation Cyzicus would have done the same. Since *munus* also means 'gift' (*OLD munus* 5), as suggested by *misisset*, this order makes the second encounter with Cyzicus end in an 'exchange' of gifts like the first one (5–13). **quae**: a relative pronoun referring back to *munera* with consecutive sense 'of a kind which'. **nostro ... igni**: a condensed expression for 'the fire that would have cremated our bodies'. The noun denoting the means implies the process of cremation, and the possessive pronoun replaces the objective genitive of the personal pronoun (G–L §304 with n. 2; cf. 389 *suos fontes*, 7.638 *sua proelia*).

3. 'Funeral speech' of Cyzicus' wife Clite (314–331)

The 'funeral speech' by Cyzicus' wife Clite (see Eigler 1988: 54–7) balances that of Jason (286–313); it demonstrates the personal and political dimensions of Cyzicus' death for his family and country. As in Jason's case (286–9), Clite's speech is preceded by a short introduction (314–15), in which the description of her appearance and behaviour illustrate her grief. In the course of her lament (316–29) Clite gets into such an emotional state that the Argonauts Castor and Pollux are hardly able to lift her (330–1); their involvement shows the regained unanimity between the Argonauts and the people of Cyzicus.

In AR Clite is introduced at the beginning of the scene along with Cyzicus (1.973–7). In response to Cyzicus' death her suicide is described (1.1063–9). VF has reduced the amount of biographical detail about Clite

(see 25n.) and extended the depiction of her emotions. In *AO* Clite learns about the events at a late stage and then kills herself without giving a speech (594–600). In *VF* the motif that a warrior's death leaves his wife alone briefly appears in the battle in Colchis (6.688–9; cf. *Hom. Il.* 2.698–702, 11.221–47).

Clite's speech is reminiscent of Andromache's farewell to Hector and her reaction to his death in Homer's *Iliad* (6.407–39, 24.722–45; see Fuà 1988: 26–7, Río Torres-Murciano 2007: 87–8, who also compares Cyzicus to Hector: 85–7). After Hector's death, Andromache considers her own fate and that of her young son in view of what they might suffer at the hands of the victors in revenge. Like Clite, she regrets that she was not present at her husband's death and did not hear his last words (24.743–5). The notion that Hector is all she has after she lost her father, mother and brothers appears when Andromache says farewell (6.413–30).

Clite's reaction bears similarities to that of Euryalus' mother at her son's death in Virgil's *Aeneid* (9.481–97): Euryalus' mother too shows her grief by her behaviour (9.475–80), bewails her loneliness (9.481–3) and regrets that she was not present at her son's death and not able to complete the funerary ceremonies (9.486–9). Since Euryalus' mother does not voice her feelings entirely in a tone of lament like Clite but also utters reproaches against her son, who has left her alone and has not given her the chance to bid farewell (9.481–3, 491–2), her speech does not create the same impression of utter desperation. Still, both women receive help from others at the end of their speeches (9.500–2).

314 parte alia: lit. 'on the other side (of the corpse)'. *parte alia* (with *alius* for *alter* in poetry: e.g. 1.140, 3.644, 7.596) is a formulaic phrase of transition often used in ekphrases (cf. 1.140; see Zissos on 1.140–1). It provides a vague link between the speeches and may create the impression that Cyzicus' dead body and the two speakers form a pictorial scene.

314–15 laceras ... | fusa comas 'with her torn hair spread out': a passive participle with Greek accusative (see 61n.; *OLD lacer* 1b). Loosening one's hair is a typical way of expressing one's grief (cf. e.g. *AR* 1.1057, *Virg. Aen.* 11.35). **misera:** more likely accusative plural neuter with *agmina* than nominative singular feminine with the subject *Clite*, which already governs *fusa*. *misera* then is a transferred epithet defining *matrum*: the other married women (see 246–8n.) are 'wretched' as they commiserate with Clite. For *agmina* (*OLD* 4a) in a context of female lamenting cf. *Stat. Theb.* 5.651–2 *contra subit obuia mater, | femineos coetus plangentiaque agmina ducens*. **in planctus uocat:** women lamenting deaths are a feature of ancient epic from Homer onwards (*Il.* 24.720–2) and also appear at Pallas' death in Virgil's *Aeneid* (11.34–5; cf. *Virg. Aen.* 3.65, *Ov. Met.* 13.688–9). In Rome excessive female lamentation at

funerals seems to have been prohibited by the Twelve Tables (*Cic. Tusc.* 2.55, *Leg.* 2.59).

316 fatur et haec: a postponed conjunction (see 44n.): *et* links *uocat* and *fatur*. **primis ... in annis** 'in his youth' (see 352; *AR* 1.972) rather than 'in the first years of his marriage' (cf. 6.571 *breuibus ereptus in annis*; for the motif cf. *Hom. Il.* 24.725–6).

317–18 necdum suboles nec gaudia de te | ulla mihi: in *VF* the entire family disappears at Cyzicus' death since there are no descendants (344–6), whereas in the version given by the mythographer Hyginus the kingdom is passed on to Cyzicus' sons (*Hyg. Fab.* 16). In *AR* Cyzicus is introduced as recently married and still without children (1.973–7 (see 320n.); cf. also Σ *AR* 1.1063, Conon, *Narr.* 41). The motif of the lack of children recalls Dido's wish in Virgil's *Aeneid* that Aeneas might have left her 'a little Aeneas' (4.327–30; cf. also Hypsipyle's last words at Jason's departure from Lemnos: 2.424 *per hunc utero quem linquis Iasona nostro*). The existence of offspring is a source of consolation for Argia at the death of her husband in Statius' *Thebaid* (12.345–8). **necdum ... nec:** for this sequence ('not yet either ... or') cf. e.g. 622, *Lucr.* 5.953, *Prop.* 1.9.17. **suboles ... gaudia:** hendiadys, combining a concrete and an abstract term ('offspring to enjoy', 'joys from offspring'). **de te:** the only instance in book 3 of two monosyllables at the end of the line (see Garson 1968: 379).

318 quis: an alternative form of the dative and ablative *quibus* (common in poetry), referring back to *gaudia* (317). **optime:** this emotional term is in the vocative (for its Virgilian background see 325n.), while the more descriptive *ereptus* (316) is in the nominative (Merone 1957: 47–8).

319 tenui luctum solamine fallens: children would be a small consolation, helping Clite to elude her grief (*OLD fallo* 7a).

320–2 Mygdonis ... | ... | ... sagitta: Cyzicus' death is particularly sad for Clite as she has recently lost her father and her mother as well as her family home; therefore she regarded Cyzicus as representing these other relationships too. Andromache voices similar views when Hector leaves for battle in Homer's *Iliad* since she has lost her father and her brothers in battle and her mother by an arrow of Artemis (6.413–30).

320 Mygdonis arma patrem: Clite's father, according to *AR*, is Merops from Percote (1.975; cf. Σ *AR* 1.974–6 a, Conon, *Narr.* 41; see 25n.). In Homer's *Iliad* Merops is envisaged as alive at the time of the Trojan War or just before it (2.830–4, 11.328–32). *AR*'s narrative implies that Clite still had family when Cyzicus married her (1.975–7). Here it is assumed that in the course of battles between Mygdon, presumably the eponymous king of the Mygdones in Phrygia (cf. *Hom. Il.* 3.184–7; see 47n.), and Clite's

father the latter has recently been killed. This detail is not attested elsewhere: it makes Clite's situation more desolate; and that her father was killed in a battle yields a parallel with her husband Cyzicus. **arma ... funestaque proelia**: a concrete and an abstract term combine to express a single notion, as often in VF. Both phrases are subjects of *rapuere* (321), each with its own object, *patrem* and *natales ... domos* (321).

321–2 Triuiaequae potentis | occidit ... sagitta: a paraphrase for the death of Clite's mother. The notion and the phrasing recall what Andromache says about her mother in Homer's *Iliad* (6.428). The sudden death of women is often attributed to the arrows of Artemis/Diana/Triuia (cf. also Hom. *Il.* 19.59–60, 24.605–6, *Od.* 11.172–3), who, *inter alia*, is a goddess of women (see e.g. Wernicke 1895: 1347–8; on the name see 67–9n.).

323–4 tu ... | ... iuuenta: the result of Clite's previous losses is that Cyzicus represented all her family relationships and hopes for the future. Andromache in Homer's *Iliad* draws the same conclusion after she has listed the loss of father, mother and brothers (6.429–30). In Clite's speech the loss of a brother or brothers has not been mentioned: either it is now voiced explicitly and was implied in the loss of *natales ... domos* (321); or there were no brothers, and this is a list of all close family relationships a young man can represent; or this idea was influenced by the literary model. The motif that a beloved partner represents home and family also occurs in Latin love poetry (cf. Prop. 1.11.23–4, Ov. *Her.* 3.51–2, 12.161–2, Venant. Fort. *App.* 1.41–54). **a prima ... iuuenta**: if Clite's father has only recently died (320), Cyzicus' role cannot have been fully obvious 'from earliest youth'; but this description mirrors Clite's feelings and emphasizes her loneliness.

325 deseris heu: the same words form the beginning of a line in an address to Anchises by Aeneas in Virgil's *Aeneid*, in an equally emotional context (3.708–11 *hic pelagi tot tempestatibus actus | heu, genitorem, omnis curae casusque leuamen, | amitto Anchisen. hic me, pater optime, fessum | deseris, heu, tantis nequiquam eripile periculis!*). There the syntax is different, and the verb has an object in the preceding line. The address *optime* in Virgil appears earlier in Clite's speech (318). **totamque deus simul impulit urbem**: although Clite is primarily concerned with her own misfortune, she moves on to consider the situation of the town (*OLD impello* 5; cf. Ov. *Trist.* 1.9.19, Sen. *Ag.* 920–1). The mention of a 'god' as responsible is most likely an unspecific reference to supernatural power. Since Cyzicus is the king, having received the royal insignia from his ancestors, and there is no offspring (344–6), his death leaves the town without government. The effect of a leader's death is similarly described in Homer's *Iliad*, where

Andromache expects that Hector's loss will lead to disaster for the whole town (24.728–30), and in Virgil's *Aeneid*, where Anna regards the death of her sister Dido as a blow for the town (4.682–3).

326–8 ast ego ... | ... | uerba tuli: Clite moves to a further aspect (*OLD ast* 3b '(in weakened sense) while, whereas, and (further)'): since Cyzicus died on the battlefield, she was not even (*OLD saltem* 2) able to hold his hand in death or receive his last words. The same issue is a source of grief for Andromache after Hector's death in Homer's *Iliad* (24.743–5). Priam wishes that Hector had died in his arms, so that his parents could have had their fill of mourning (22.426–8). **media ... | ... morte** 'right at your death' (cf. 1.820 *in media iam morte*, Virg. *Aen.* 2.533 *in media iam morte*); a locative ablative with *medius* used without preposition (G–L §388). **ulla monentis | uerba**: the 'last words' of a dying person had particular importance in ancient Greece and Rome. These words were recorded particularly for kings and philosophers (e.g. Suet. *Aug.* 99.1; a satirical version at Sen. *Apocol.* 4), and they could include advice to survivors. The relevance of 'last words' is featured in the battle narrative, when the warrior Glaucus is unable to utter any because of his wound (155–6).

328–9 quin te ... | heu talem ... recepi: Clite's strong emotions, including self-reproach and uneasiness about her behaviour, are indicated by the intricate word order; a more logical and prosaic word order would be: *quin te thalamis modo questa morari tantique metus securo – heu talem recepi*: not only was Clite not present when Cyzicus died, but she, waiting in her chambers, even accused him of tarrying, unaware of the great danger, and has now received him in such a state. The motif of the beloved left alone at home, eagerly awaiting the return of the lover, who she thinks is late, is also (see 323–4n.) a motif common in Roman love poetry (e.g. Prop. 1.3). For *talis/qualis* indicating a terribly changed appearance of a person cf. Aeneas' description of the dead Hector in Virgil's *Aeneid* (2.274–6 *ei mihi, qualis erat, quantum mulatus ab illo | Hectore qui redit exuvias indutus Achilli | uel Danaum Phrygius iaculatus puppibus ignis!*; cf. Virg. *Aen.* 9.481, Ov. *Met.* 11.727–8). **thalamis**: this word for 'chamber', with its connotations of 'the bedroom or apartment occupied by a married couple' (*OLD* 2a), emphasizes that Clite has lost her husband. **tantique metus securo** 'untroubled by so great a fear', i.e. by the anticipation that something horrible might happen. Kleywegt (1986: 2453) explains the construction as a combination of *periculi securo* and *metu uacua*. **recepi**: Schenkl (1871: 19) regards the ending of Clite's speech as unsatisfactory and sees this as a sign that of this book only the poet's draft exists (see Intro. 2.2). But at this point Clite has voiced her essential concerns and is depicted as so overwhelmed by sadness and self-reproach that she is

unable to continue speaking. The realization of the dramatic change to Cyzicus is an effective closure, and the comment on Cyzicus' altered appearance concludes the pair of speeches, since this is the starting point of Jason's utterance (288).

330–1 illam ... | ... trahentem: Clite's grief is shown physically by her clinging to the dead body. Similarly, Euryalus' mother has to be caught and carried away when she grieves over her son's death in Virgil's *Aeneid* (9.500–2). Clite receives help from the two Argonauts Castor and Pollux (see 186–97n.): it is not only Jason (cf. 270–2, 286–313) but also other Argonauts who still regard the people of Cyzicus as friends and sympathize with them. **haerentem compressaque colla trahentem:** Clite clings to Cyzicus' dead body (cf. 314–15), fiercely embracing its neck (*OLD com-primo* 1b 'to squeeze, constrict; to hem or shut in', where this passage is given with the specification '(in an embrace)'); hence she drags the body with her when Castor and Pollux try to lift her up.

4. Funerary ceremonies (332–361)

The funerary ceremonies (332–61) start with the preparation of pyres (332–7). Then king Cyzicus is singled out: Jason ensures that adequate arrangements for his burial are made (337–46). An overview of the funerary rituals up to setting the pyres on fire follows (347–51). The scene concludes with an authorial comment on Cyzicus' fate (352–6) and the statement that the area is now turning quiet again, illustrated by a simile (357–61).

In AR the Argonauts and the surviving inhabitants of Cyzicus mourn for three days, then walk round the tomb three times and celebrate funeral games (1.1057–62). VF has elaborated the funerary ceremonies through a variety of traditional motifs (e.g. erecting pyres, surrounding them three times, blowing a ritual trumpet, decorating pyres, offering funerary gifts, setting pyres on fire), also occurring in other epic funeral scenes (e.g. Virg. *Aen.* 6.212–35, VF 5.6–12, Stat. *Theb.* 6.54–134, 12.60–70, Sil. 2.264–9, 10.558–77). These elements have been adapted to the particular circumstances: besides the surviving inhabitants of Cyzicus (358) the Argonauts are involved (347) in the funerary ceremonies (as in AR). The ongoing friendship (cf. 269–72, 309–13) is illustrated by the relationship between the two leaders: Jason pays particular attention to Cyzicus' funeral (338–43).

Since Jason 'gives' (340) funeral gifts to Cyzicus on the pyre, the last encounter between the two men ends with an 'exchange' of gifts like their first one (5–13; cf. 312–13). When Jason presents Cyzicus with a garment he received from Hypsipyle at Lemnos (340–2; cf. 2.408–17; see Intro. 3.1), he matches the gifts received at the Argonauts' first departure from

Cyzicus (25–10). Besides, Cyzicus will take back to his father the sceptre of his ancestors, since the family and the dynasty have come to an end owing to a lack of descendants (343–6).

While AR comments after Cyzicus' death that nobody can escape their fate (1.1035–9), VF has presented his death as Cybele's revenge (19–31) and attributed to the dying Cyzicus the wish that he had never gone hunting (241–2). At the very end the poet adds an authorial reflection: these events have been awaiting Cyzicus and his people since the time the Argo was built; omens have announced them, but everyone (including Cyzicus) would disregard such early warning signals and hope for a long life instead (352–6). This now indicates that the overall scheme was pre-determined by mighty supernatural powers. As in the second episode of this book, the incidents first seem to be provoked by personal revenge plans of divinities and then turn out to have been fated (see Intro. 2.5). Since disregarding warning signs is presented as a common human reaction, the comment does not ascribe a particular fault to Cyzicus (for men disregarding prophecies cf. Stat. *Theb.* 6.934–7, Sil. 13.499–501). According to the poet's report these warnings started at the beginning of the Argonautic voyage, but it is unclear whether the connection was evident to Cyzicus, while in AR there is an oracular piece of advice for him on how to receive an approaching band of heroes (1.969–71). On these lines, with different readings, see Schönberger 1965: 130, Burck 1970: 555–6, Schenk 1991: 151, 1999: 332, Franchet d'Espèrey 1998: 215–16, Groß 2003: 193, Sauer 2011: 186–7.

332 interea: this transition (see 113n.) marks the move from selected individuals back to the group, whose presence has been recalled by the intervention of Castor and Pollux (330–1). **innumeras** 'innumerable' hyperbolically indicates a large number of pyres (cf. Virg. *Aen.* 11.204). **nudatis montibus:** another hyperbolic expression (cf. Luc. 3.428 *inter nudatos ... montes*, Sen. *Tro.* 73–4, Stat. *Theb.* 12.51, Sil. 3.640). For getting wood for pyres from hills cf. Virg. *Aen.* 6.182 *aduoluunt ingentis montibus ornos*. **urgent:** here 'to press on with, pursue with vigour (an activity or undertaking)', poetically combined with a concrete object (*OLD* 12a). The notion of speed is emphasized by *certatim* (333), which does not indicate an actual 'contest' but rather implies that all eagerly contribute (cf. Virg. *Aen.* 5.778, 6.177–8, 11.208–9). The subject is not expressed; in view of Jason's preceding orders (273, 311–13) and the obvious involvement of Jason and the Argonauts (338–43, 347–8), the Argonauts are likely to be the agents or at least to be included. Then *maesti* (333) illustrates again that even the victors are affected.

333 decorantque pyras: since *decorant* denotes the step after erecting pyres out of wood and before putting the dead bodies on top of them, it may

refer to extra foliage, a covering with garments and/or funeral gifts, as mentioned for Cyzicus (338–46) and in comparable funerary ceremonies (Virg. *Aen.* 6.214–22).

334 summa ‘on top’; an adjective used predicatively, functioning like an adverb.

334–5 uadit sonipes ... | ... **pecudesque**: sacrifices of various kinds of animals occur as part of funerary ceremonies in other epics: sheep, cattle, horses and dogs (Hom. *Il.* 23.166–714); sheep and cattle (Hom. *Od.* 24.70); sheep, swine and heifers (Virg. *Aen.* 5.96–7); cattle, swine and other animals (Virg. *Aen.* 11.197–9); horses (Stat. *Theb.* 12.69–70). **uadit** ‘advances’, attributes the action to the animals (as 335 *morantur*) and thus leaves open who is bringing the animals. **sonipes**: a poetic term for ‘horse’ (e.g. 1.431, Virg. *Aen.* 4.135, Stat. *Theb.* 4.136, 9.803, Sil. 16.332), presumably generic singular for plural. **cervice remissa** ‘with neck drooping’ (*OLD* *remitto* 8b): the horses are ready to be sacrificed and/or even they feel sorrow (cf. Hom. *Il.* 17.426–40, Virg. *Aen.* 11.89–90 *post bellator equus positus insignibus Aethon | il lacrimans guttisque umectat grandibus ora*). **uenatrix nec turba canum**: *nec* is another postponed conjunction (see 44n.); *uenatrix* goes with *turba* (cf. Stat. *Theb.* 9.685 *uenator ... equus*). **pecudesque**: the transmitted *pecudumque* (without further changes only kept by Ehlers, who considers *pecudesque* in the apparatus) entails the strange collocation *uenatrix ... turba ... pecudum*; the corruption to *pecudesque*, adopted by most modern editors, gives three items in a sequence expressed with variation: *sonipes, uenatrix ... turba canum, pecudes*.

336 funereae ‘for the funerals’, ‘funerary’. The adjective (sometimes changed to *inferiae*) is feminine plural, agreeing with the nearest noun (*pecudesque*; see 334–5n.), but qualifies all three groups of animals. It does not imply that these animals have been reared for funerary sacrifices; it rather defines the use to which they are put.

336–7 quae cuique ... | ... **fuit** ‘in accordance with each person’s power, care of their people and fortune’. After three types of animals have been mentioned, a three-part anaphoric relative clause follows; this relates the offerings to the position of the individuals, though there do not seem to be precise links between the types of animals and the aspects mentioned. *cuique* (scanned: – –) probably refers to the dead (*fuit*) rather than to the people presenting the offerings as in a comparable phrase in Virgil’s *Aeneid* (5.100–1 *socii, quae cuique est copia, laeti | dona ferunt*; explained by Williams *ad loc.*: “each according to his means”, a “detached” use of the relative, equivalent to *sicut cuique est copia*, or *quisque pro sua copia*). The term *manus*, for which various interpretations have been proposed,

perhaps means ‘power’, alluding to a position of control within the family (*OLD* 16, 17).

337–8 medio ... | **eminet** ‘owing to a pyre in the middle the king stands out over a long distance’ (*OLD* *agger* 5). Cyzicus has not yet been put on the pyre (338–9), but his royal pyre is conspicuous.

338 crebris quatiens singultibus ora: lit. ‘shaking his face with frequent sobs’ (cf. Virg. *Aen.* 5.199–200 *tum creber anhelitus artus | aridaque ora quatit*, Ov. *Am.* 3.9.12 *oraeque singultu concutiente sonant*).

339 Aesonides: i.e. Jason (see 8n.). That Jason places Cyzicus’ corpse on the pyre again shows the continuing friendship and Jason’s eagerness to demonstrate compassion despite his deed (cf. 309–13). Since Cyzicus does not have any offspring, Jason thereby takes on the duties of a son (see Bernstein 2008: 52). **celsoque** ... **in ostro**: at the top of Cyzicus’ pyre there are purple coverlets (*OLD* *celsus* 2), and on those the corpse is placed.

340–2 dat ... | ... | **Hypsipyle**: perhaps the embroidered chlamys that Hypsipyle gave to Jason at the Argonauts’ departure from Lemnos (2.408–17). Jason honours Cyzicus so much that he offers him something of particular value (for the significance of a funeral garment cf. Virg. *Aen.* 9.488–9). In contrast to AR (2.30–2, 3.1204–6, 4.423–4), garments given to the Argonauts at Lemnos are only mentioned here (after the Lemnos episode) in VF: thereby Jason’s gesture acquires a special significance. In Virgil’s *Aeneid* Aeneas wraps the dead Pallas in a robe received from Dido (11.72–7). Within VF’s epic, the parallels with the description of the garments made by Cyzicus’ wife and given to Jason (25–10) emphasize the link between the two actions as well as their different atmosphere. **pictas auro atque ardentis murice uestes** ‘garments embroidered with gold and flashing with purple dye’. Decoration with purple dye and/or gold is a feature of conspicuous garments in comparable scenes (cf. 1.427–9, 3.25–10, Virg. *Aen.* 4.262–4 *Tyrioque ardebat murice laena | demissa ex umeris, diues quae munera Dido | fecerat, et tenui telas discreuerat auro*, 11.72–7 *tum geminas uestis auroque ostroque rigentis | extulit Aeneas, quas illi laeta laborum | ipsa suis quondam manibus Sidonia Dido | fecerat et tenui telas discreuerat auro. | harum unam iuveni supremum maestus honorem | induit*, Coripp. *Laud. Iust.* 2.118–19). **rapuit telis** ‘snatched from the loom’ (poetic plural): this illustrates the haste in which the garment was finished upon the guests’ impending departure. **uocantibus austris**: at Lemnos *zephyri* (see 92–3n.) call the Argonauts to continue their journey while they prefer to ignore them (2.372–3 *nec iam uelle uias Zephyrosque audire uocantes | dissimulant*). However, *austris* inviting people to set off are

common in epic (e.g. 598, 652, 700, Virg. *Aen.* 3.70, 356–7; see also 2n.); therefore this could be seen as an epic variation (see 700n.). Further, that the Argonauts are unwilling to leave Lemnos may seem to contradict a rapid departure. Yet once Hercules has reminded them of their duties, they rush to departure (2.390–2, 400–1, 428–30). Still no hastiness on Hypsipyle's part is mentioned there. The addition of this detail here presents the departure from her as another sad farewell. For the motif of finishing a garment in haste cf. the words of Euryalus' mother in Virgil's *Aeneid*: *ueste legens tibi quam noctes festina diesque | urgebam, et tela curas solabar anilis* (9.488–9), also referring to a funerary item.

342–3 galeam ... | inicit: Cyzicus is given two elements of a man's armour (for warriors in epic buried with arms and/or armour cf. 5.8–9, Virg. *Aen.* 6.217, 11.195–6, Sil. 10.561–3). *regi* (often understood as dative of agent with *dilecta*) is probably indirect object of *inicit* (*OLD* *inicio* 5). When Jason equips Cyzicus on the pyre with his own armour, rather than taking these items as the victor's spoils (contrast Pallas' baldric at Virg. *Aen.* 10.495–505), this again indicates Jason's aim to honour Cyzicus.

343–6 ille ... | ... | ... | ... parenti: the mention that the dead Cyzicus carries his ancestral sceptre in his hand provides a transition from the presentation of the relationship between Jason and Cyzicus to comments on the latter's role for his town. Apparently, there has been a tradition in Cyzicus' family for the sceptre to be passed down from generation to generation as the emblem of the ruler (cf. Hom. *Il.* 2.101–8). Since the dynasty ends with Cyzicus, he takes it back to his father; presumably Cyzicus will meet his father in the underworld to return it. It has been noted (e.g. by Spaltenstein) that Cyzicus' wife Clite survives, so that she could take the sceptre and maintain the power; equally, it has been suggested that VF does not envisage this possibility because it is not an option in AR, where Clite commits suicide (1.1063–9). However, as VF gives Cyzicus' father as the point of reference, he seems to have a male bloodline in mind. Cyzicus' death therefore means an end to the ruling dynasty. That Cyzicus on the pyre has his face turned towards his town (343) may be intended to illustrate his role for his community. In Statius' *Thebaid* a father gives the sceptre to his dead son on the pyre, so that he enters the underworld as a king, since he himself can no longer enjoy the signs of power and their implications (12.88–93).

343 uultus conuersus: a passive participle with Greek accusative (see 61n.).

344 gestamen 'something worn or carried on the body' (*OLD* 1a), describing *sceptra*. Since the plural *sceptra* is used poetically in singular sense (*OLD* 1), the word in apposition is singular (see G–L §321 and r. 1). For

gestamen in connection with a sceptre cf. Virg. *Aen.* 7.246–8 *hoc Priami gestamen erat cum iura uocatis | more daret populis, sceptrumque sacerque tiaras | Iliadumque labor uestes*.

345 nec proles alius nec denique sanguis 'no offspring nor indeed any other blood relation' (i.e. 'was there'; supply a form of *esse*); intricate word order with postponed *nec* (*alius* goes with *sanguis*). *proles* means 'offspring', and *sanguis*, more broadly, indicates 'progeny' among people having a blood-relationship (*OLD* *sanguis* 10; see 343–6n.).

347 inde marks the continuation of the action after the preparations for the funerary ceremonies (332–46).

347–8 ter ... | ... ter: a frequent number in religious, including funerary, and magical ceremonies (e.g. Hom. *Il.* 23.13–14, AR 1.1058–60, Virg. *G.* 1.345, 4.384–5, *Aen.* 6.229–31, 11.188–90, *Ciris* 369–73, Prop. 4.8.86, Tib. 1.2.56, Ov. *Met.* 7.189–91, VF 1.193–4, Sil. 2.266; cf. also Virg. *Ecl.* 8.73–5, *Ciris* 372–3); it reoccurs in the purification and atonement ritual (441–3).

347 armatos Minyis referentibus orbes 'while the Argonauts in arms repeat circular courses' (*OLD* *refero* 16, *orbis* 14b; *armatos* transferred epithet; on *Minyae* see 74n.). In AR the same ceremony of moving round the funeral pyre in armour is performed (1.1058–60). This ritual also occurs elsewhere in epic narrative (cf. Hom. *Il.* 23.13–14, Virg. *Aen.* 11.188–90 *ter circum accensos cincti fulgentibus armis | decurrere rogos, ter maestum funeris ignem | lustrare in equis ululatusque ore dedere*, Luc. 8.734–5, Stat. *Theb.* 6.213–18).

348 tremuere rogi: the pyres personified, since *tremo* may be used both of animate and of inanimate objects.

348–9 inhorruit ... | ... tuba: in hyperbolic fashion the (personified) ether is said to 'shudder' (*OLD* *inhorresco* 4) at the sound of a trumpet. For this instrument at funeral ceremonies cf. Virg. *Aen.* 11.192 *it caelo clamorque uirum clangorque tubarum*. **luctificum:** on the function of the adjective see 198n. For a similar collocation cf. Stat. *Theb.* 10.552 *tuba luctificis pulsat clangoribus urbem*.

349–50 iecere ... | ... faces: the next step in the ceremonies, linked by postponed *tum* (cf. 347 *inde*): as the rituals are about to come to a close (*supremo*), the people set fire to the pyres.

350 rerum labor omnis: a condensed expression for 'all the things made with toil and effort', referring to the sacrificial animals, funeral gifts, decorations of the pyres and the pyres themselves (334–46).

351 celsis ... flammis contrasts with the description of Pallas' funeral in Virgil's *Aeneid*, where the fires are dark and the atmosphere becomes gloomy (11.186–7). **collucent** 'they are illuminated' (*OLD colluceo* 2; cf. Virg. *Aen.* 5.3–4 *moenia ... quae iam infelicitis Elissae | collucent flammis*). **aequora**: either 'land' or 'sea' (*OLD* 2, 3).

352–6 scilicet ... | ... | ... | ... annos? At the end of the funeral ceremony this authorial comment reveals that Cyzicus' fate was pre-determined and has been awaiting him since the time when preparations for the Argonautic journey were made as announced by prophetic signs (see 332–61n.).

352 scilicet: with concessive force (*OLD* 2c), pointing towards a subsequent contrast (355 *sed*) and implying that the matter is obvious. **haec**: without a precise point of reference (like 354 *hoc*): it vaguely refers to the fate awaiting Cyzicus and his people. **iuuenem**: i.e. Cyzicus. Cyzicus has not been defined as a 'young man' before. Yet the details that he and his wife have not had children yet (317–18) and she describes him as *primis coniunx ereptus in annis* (316) have indicated that he is young (cf. also AR 1.972–6). **populosque**: most likely a poetic plural, so that the phrase refers to Cyzicus and his subjects: Cybele's plans for revenge are designed to affect Cyzicus and the entire town (29–31).

353 Peliacis caderet ... montibus arbor: the timber for the Argo was felled on mount Pelion (1.92–5; cf. 8.417 *Peliacae ... carinae*). The phrasing recalls the frequently quoted beginning of Ennius' tragedy *Medea* (Enn. *Trag.* 205–6 R.^{2–3} = 253–4 W. = 89.1–2 *TrRF*: *utinam ne in nemore Pelio securibus | caesa accidisset abiegnata ad terram trabes*), in turn based on the opening of Euripides' homonymous tragedy (*Eur. Med.* 1–4). This might imply an allusion to the 'tragic' dimension of the Argonautic voyage (see Río Torres-Murciano 2007: 90).

354 hoc: see 352n. **uolucrumque minae praesagaque fulmina**: Cyzicus' future fate was announced by threatening appearances of birds (on animals as omens see Ries 1939: 365–71) and foreboding lightning bolts. While the mention of lightning bolts evokes associations of Jupiter, who, as the supreme god, might be ultimately responsible for determining the course of fate, his lightning bolts typically indicate immediate intervention and are not prophetic (but cf. Virg. *Aen.* 10.175–7 *tertius ille hominum diuumque interpres Asilas, | cui pecudum fibrae, caeli cui sidera parent | et linguae uolucrum et praesagi fulminis ignes*). For *minae* with reference to bad omens cf. 5.259–60 *interea auguriis monstribusque minacibus urbem | territat ante monens semper deus, 341 his turbata minis*.

354–5 longo | acta mari: that the ominous lightning flashes are said to have travelled to land from far out at sea may imply that the danger would arrive from this direction. **longo**: an adjective for an adverb in the sense of *longe* 'over a long distance' (cf. Sen. *HO* 517–18 *longum ferens | harundo uulnus*). **tulerant** 'they had brought (as news or information)' (*OLD fero* 26a).

355–6 quis non ... refellat 'who would not refute?' The potential subjunctive in a question expresses a negative statement in a more restrained manner (G–L §259), equivalent to 'everyone would refute'. For this use of *refello* cf. Stat. *Silu.* 2.2.126–7 *exemptus fatis indignanterque refellens | Fortunam*. **monstra** 'portents' (*OLD* 1), i.e. foreshadowing signs (354), defined as sent by gods (*deum* gen. pl.; see 4n.). **auguret**: suggests that humans ignore divine omens and replace them with their own 'foretelling' of what they are hoping for (cf. Virg. *Aen.* 7.272–3 *hunc illum poscere fata | et reor et, si quid ueri mens augural, opto*).

357 iamque solutus honos cineri: *iam*, combined with perfect verbs, indicates that the action has moved on and the narrative is resumed at a later stage (cf. 417): the last item of the funerary ceremonies to be described was the lighting of the pyres (350–1); now due rites for the dead have been completed. That the word for 'the dead' is 'ash' in metonymic sense implies that the dead bodies on the pyres have been reduced to ashes. Anaphoric *iam* and the omission of a form of *esse* contribute to the impression of swift movement. **honos**: an older form of *honor* (G–L §44.3).

357–8 passibus aegris: *aegris* is a transferred epithet, indicating the feelings of the survivors. **cum prole nurus**: the surviving inhabitants of Cyzicus are mainly women and children (*nurus* 'daughters-in-law' referring more broadly to 'young (married) women'; *OLD* 2). Elderly people, who might include men (267 *grandaevum ... uulvus*), are not mentioned here. The focus on the younger generation increases the gloomy atmosphere.

359 dissona peruigili planctu uada 'waters, discordant with incessant lamentation'. *uada* confirms that the ceremony takes place on the shore and indicates that the great noise was audible across the sea (cf. 277). *dissonus* + ablative of respect / means applied to a region filled with sounds (rather than to sounds directly) appears at Sil. 3.221 *castra qualis clamor permixtis dissona linguis*: there the word refers to a multilingual army; if this connotation is valid here too, it might indicate that the lamentation came from both the people of Cyzicus and from the Argonauts. The chronology throughout is vague (see 362–3, 364m.), yet the funerary ceremonies have apparently been concluded on the day after the battle. Therefore

peruigili (OLD 2b) is likely to emphasize intense and incessant wailing rather than literally indicating the time spent in lamentation.

359–61 qualiter ... | ... | ... Nili: the concluding simile of birds leaving their winter quarters at the Nile illustrates how an area falls quiet after much noise and activity (see Fitch 1976: 124, Burck 1981: 459, Gärtner 1994: 11–12, 253–4). References to migrating birds, including allusions to the warm area around the Nile, occur elsewhere in Roman poetry (e.g. Virg. *Aen.* 6.311–12, 10.264–6, Sen. *Oed.* 604–6, Luc. 3.199–200, 5.711–16, 7.832–4, Stat. *Theb.* 5.11–12, 12.515–18, Claud. *Bell. Gild.* 474–8). VF's emphasis is not on the large group, the noise or the movement, but on the silence that sets in once the swarm of birds has left. **arctos | ad patrias:** *arctos* literally denotes the constellation of the Bear and is then used metonymically for 'the lands or peoples of the North' (OLD 2). *arctos* in the plural is rare in this sense (but cf. 5.155 *in gelidas consurgens Caucasus arctos*). The North is the 'home country' or 'native region' of the birds since they breed there. **Memphis:** a town in Egypt. **aprici ... Nili** contrasts with *arctos | ad patrias* and forms an emphatic closing phrase (see Fitch 1976: 124, Pice 2003: 214–15). *Nili* is a genitive of definition (see Woodcock §5 and n. (i)), describing *statio* (OLD 2a 'a place where one pauses for a rest, halting-place'; cf. Virg. *Aen.* 5.128 *apricis statio gratissima mergis*).

H. Paralysis of the Argonauts and its resolution (362–458)

After the people of Cyzicus have left at the completion of the funerary ceremonies (332–61), the narrative switches to the Argonauts, who are paralysed with grief and a bad conscience and hence unable to move on (362–71); this prompts Jason to approach the seer Mopsus (372–6). In a long speech Mopsus outlines the reasons for the Argonauts' current state and the details of a ritual that will cure them (377–416). Because the Argonauts have involuntarily killed their hosts, help is available in the shape of a supernaturally conveyed ritual (see Bernstein 2008: 53–4): a purification and atonement ceremony, which cleanses the Argonauts from their feelings of guilt and appeases the shades, follows (417–58). This enables the Argonauts to continue their journey (459–61). While there are delays to the Argonauts' departure elsewhere (e.g. 2.372–92, 3.598–725), only here are they physically and emotionally unable to carry on and require 'supernatural' assistance.

In AR the Argonauts cannot leave Cyzicus after the funerary ceremonies because of fierce tempests; just as when the Argonauts are driven back to Cyzicus, their movements are determined by bad winds (1.1015–18, 1.078–80). Eventually Mopsus spots a halcyon hovering above Jason's head

and tells him that this means that they should offer sacrifices to Cybele; after they have done so, the winds cease, and the Argonauts can depart (1.1078–152). The bird appears close to Jason, but the decisive action comes from Mopsus, whereas in VF Jason sets the process in motion by approaching Mopsus (372–6). In AR the description of the sacrifices to Cybele includes an account of the location and aetiologies (while in VF the cult of Cybele is already in place). In AO Athena appears to Tiphys in his sleep and tells him to carry out funerary ceremonies and expiate Rhea (536–55); the Argonauts then propitiate Rhea on Dindymon (601–17), after having celebrated funeral games (568–93). In the summary in Apollodorus the Argonauts sail off straight after the funerary ceremonies (*Bibl.* 1.9.18). The main novelty in VF, therefore, is Mopsus' speech on the situation of people who have killed on purpose or unwittingly and on possible remedies. This turns a one-off incident into a paradigmatic instance with a discussion of its moral and theological dimensions (the events on Cyzicus are more than 'a terrible mistake', from which the Argonauts 'soon recover': so Timonen 1998: 167). Since there is no reference to the involvement of any other Argonaut in a leading position (cf. Orpheus at AR 1.1134), what the seer Mopsus says and does is prominent.

The attention to the religious and philosophical background and the detailed description of the ritual have been linked to interests of VF as a *quindecimuir sacris faciundis* (e.g. Boyancé (1964) 1972, Fuà 2003; see Intro. 1; on details of the ritual see Boyancé (1935) 1972; on the role of Mopsus see Fuà 2003). Stover (2012b: 170–8) suggests that Mopsus' activity shows the important role of a *uates* in moving beyond paralysis created by civil war.

1. Distress of the Argonauts and Jason's concern (362–376)

This section first illustrates the feelings and the behaviour of all Argonauts (362–8); then it singles out Jason's condition and shows how he takes steps to remedy the situation (369–76). That Jason too shows his sadness illustrates the degree to which he is affected by the involuntary killing. Nevertheless, Jason acts as a leader (see Anzinger 2007: 172–3) when he initiates a solution by approaching Mopsus (372–6; see Intro. 2.5).

362–3 at ... | ... soluit: the focus switches to the Argonauts. **non inde dies nec ... | nox** 'from then on neither day nor night'. *inde* implies a notion of sequence; because of the chronological vagueness and the generalizing singulars, this phrase suggests that the situation continues for some time (see 364n.). The last indication of time was the dawn of the new day after the battle (257–8); the 'funeral speeches' and ceremonies

seem to take place later during that day, when the first (friendly) encounter is referred to as 'yesterday' (288). **quae magis aspera curis | nox:** night is characterized by a relative clause (preceding the term it qualifies and with *est* understood), presenting it as more 'hard to bear, oppressive, grievous' (*OLD asper* 13a; comparative formed with *magis*) because of sorrows (*curis* probably ablative rather than dative). Night is again seen as bringing trouble (see also Gärtner 1998: 210), just as during the night-time battle (e.g. 206–11, 5.310–11; cf. also Virg. *Aen.* 1.305–6), while elsewhere night brings peace and relief (e.g. 5.278–9, 7.3). **tanta caesorum ab imagine:** the overwhelming image of the people they have killed is constantly before the eyes of the Argonauts. **soluti:** a singular predicate going with *dies nec ... | nox*, since these two items are viewed independently (G–L §285). The word picks up *solutus* (357): the funeral rituals have been duly absolved, but this does not free the Argonauts from their feelings of responsibility.

364 bis zephyri iam uela uocant: twice there are perfect conditions for sailing on. The chronology is again vague (see 362–3n.): presumably these conditions present themselves on two different days; when this happens in relation to what has been described so far or how much time may have passed in between is left open (Langen and Spaltenstein assume two successive days immediately after the funerary ceremonies). That good sailing conditions 'call' someone to the sea is a standard expression (e.g. 2.372, 3.2, 341 with nn.); here the winds call an inanimate object, part of the ship. Thus a neutral sketch of perfect sailing conditions can be juxtaposed with the description of the reaction of the humans. By highlighting the favourable winds VF stresses that the reason for not moving on is not the weather but the men's feelings, in contrast to AR (1.1078–80; see 362–458n.). **zephyri** metonymically stand for good sailing conditions (cf. 2.372; on the names of winds see 92–3, 340–2nn.).

364–5 fiducia: the good sailing conditions are asyndetically juxtaposed with the Argonauts' emotional state (cf. 375–6, 394–6): they are *maesti* ('sad'; cf. 333) and have lost their *fiducia* (*OLD* 4 'confidence in oneself, assurance, courage, boldness'); *nulla* at the start of the line emphasizes the total lack of confidence (supply *est*). **aegro assidue mens carpitur aestu:** the Argonauts feel sick (transferred epithet) as their minds are affected by 'mental disturbance, disquiet, anxiety, worry' (*OLD aestus* 9b; for *aestus* applied to upsetting emotions cf. 572–3, 5.302–3, Stat. *Theb.* 3.18–19). For *carpere* + abl. to describe feelings cf. Virg. *Aen.* 4.1–2 *at regina graui iamdudum saucia cura | uulnus alit uenis et caeco carpitur igni*.

366–7 necdum ... | ... putant: although the relevant ceremonies have been performed, the Argonauts feel that this is not sufficient (emphasized by the repeated *omnes ... omnia*). **iusta** 'things which are due to the dead, obsequies, funeral offerings, etc.' (*OLD iustum* 3b).

367–8 patria ... | ... luctu: the Argonauts are no longer concerned about a successful return home or the task at hand (cf. 375). Instead, they are satisfied with indulging in grief and doing nothing. This analysis includes an indication of the Argonauts' general motives with respect to their enterprise (cf. also 1.100–2, 271–2, 2.372, 381, 457, 3.679–81, 4.193–4, 5.313–14, 8.391). Grammatically, the first two phrases are connected more closely, presumably sharing the verb *pulsus* (supply *est*), while the third one has a different structure. **segnique iuuat frigescere luctu:** *frigescere* describes metaphorically that the men 'become cold', i.e. inactive (*OLD* 2). The reason is *luctu* (causal ablative); *segni* emphasizes the men's lack of energy as a transferred epithet (*OLD* 1a; cf. [Sen.] *Oct.* 675 *segnisque dolor*; cf. also 2.376 *tempore segni*). *iuuat* followed by an infinitive is a poetic construction; the positive pleasure implied indicates the strange change in the Argonauts' interests (cf. Hom. *Il.* 23.10).

369–71 ipse etiam Aesonides ... | ... | ... dolorem: *ipse etiam* moves the focus to the leader Jason: even he indulges in lamenting and does not hide his grief although it would be the duty of a leader to suppress such feelings (for the wording cf. 6.660 *castigatque metus et quas alit inscia curas*). Jason again grieves after the disappearance of Hercules (and Hylas) in Mysia (604–6 with nn.) and only takes action when prompted (615–16). Aeneas in Virgil's *Aeneid* behaves according to the rules here outlined for a leader (1.208–9 *taliam uoce refert curisque ingentibus aeger | spem uultu simulat, premit altum corde dolorem*), while Scipio in Silius Italicus' *Punica* gives himself over to grief against his custom when he hears of the deaths of his father and uncle (13.388–94). That Jason does not behave as a leader should demonstrates the extraordinary circumstances he is confronted with (see Anzinger 2007: 174–5). **tristissima rerum:** a partitive genitive, depending on an adjective in the neuter plural (see 212n.). **dulcibus ... lacrimis:** tears are 'sweet' because they provide welcome relief and there is a paradoxical pleasure in the expression of grief (cf. Stat. *Silu.* 2.7.134 *dulces lacrimae*). The idea of relief is also suggested by the verb *indulget* (cf. Ov. *Met.* 9.142–3). This word recalls the Lemnos episode (cf. Shelton 1971: 141, 148, 149), where the Argonauts 'indulge' in a different way and thus put the continuation of the journey at risk (2.369–73 *usque nouos diuiae melioris ad ignes | urbe sedent laeti Minyae uiduisque uacantes | indulgent thalamis nimbosque educere luxu | nec iam uelle uias Zephyrosque audire uocantes | dissimulant*).

372 secreta trahens ... ad litora: the setting for Jason's conversation with Mopsus is vague: presumably the two men move to a more remote part of the shore (*OLD secretus* 4). This procedure does not imply secrecy on Jason's part but rather indicates that, as a responsible leader, he seeks a private and uninhibited conversation. **Phoebeum ... Mopsum:** Mopsus is one of the Argo's seers and a son of the god Phoebus Apollo (cf. 1.383–6, 3.432 with n.). Mopsus also has a human father (Ampycus), after whom he is called Ampycides (420, 460, 5.366; cf. AR 1.1083, 1106, 2.923, 3.916–17, 926, 4.1502).

373–6 'quaenam ... | ... | ... finem?' Jason's speech does not have an address to his interlocutor or an introduction; instead, it consists of a series of asyndetically linked questions, mirroring his emotional agitation. Jason considers the possibility that gods or fate might be responsible for the Argonauts' current state of mind and wonders whether their present feelings might have come upon them as decreed by fate or arisen from their imagination (a long-standing question in epic: cf. Hom. *Od.* 4.712–13, AR 1.802–5, Virg. *Aen.* 9.184–5; see Intro. 2.5). The two options are juxtaposed twice (chiastically) with different nuances, first as a description (*lues* versus *sententia diuum*) and then as questions after the cause (*decretus ... fato* versus *sibi nectunt | corda*). The envisaged alternatives imply that humans could be responsible independently of supernatural influence (see also Ferner 1937: 39–40); but in VF's world what seems to be a human decision tends to be what is determined by fate.

373 sententia: a 'sentence' or 'judicial pronouncement' by the gods (*OLD* 5), with the connotation of a kind of punishment.

374 pauor: the Argonauts' inactivity described from another point of view, emphasizing their fear to do anything.

374–5 nectunt | corda moras: not a straight alternative to the preceding question since the introduction of *moras* adds a particular nuance (for the wording cf. 503 with n., Sen. *HO* 10 *quid tamen nectis moras?*, Stat. *Theb.* 3.495 *necte moras*; *OLD* *necto* 9b).

375 immemores famaеque larisque picks up (in reverse order) the two items the Argonauts are said to have lost sight of: *patria* and *laborum* ... | ... *amor* (367–8).

376 aut adds a second question with a slightly different focus (cf. 373) and hence has a weak meaning of 'or' or 'and' (*OLD* 4). **quemnam:** postponed from the beginning of the question and more emphatic than a simple *quem* (agreeing with *finem*). **finem** 'outcome' (*OLD* 13).

2. The seer Mopsus' speech explaining the context (377–416)

In response to Jason's request (372–6), the seer Mopsus explains the reasons for the current situation and procedures for remedying it. Like the other Argonauts, Mopsus has participated in the battle (98–9); however, he is described as noticing a warrior on the other side, not as killing anybody. Therefore he is not personally affected by a bad conscience.

Following on an introductory sentence (377), Mopsus' speech (see also Intro. 2.5) starts with an exposition of the different consequences for people who have killed willingly or unwillingly (378–96); the Argonauts are assigned to the second group (396). Mopsus promises that he will provide a remedy (396–7); he first indicates the origin of his knowledge (397–410) and then outlines instructions as to what he and the Argonauts need to do (411–16).

In the first part (378–96) Mopsus demonstrates that, although human lifespan is limited, it is not right to interfere with the predetermined course by ending other people's lives before the appointed time (378–82). This thesis is justified with a complex argument, comparable in parts to Anchises' speech in the underworld in Virgil's *Aeneid* (6.703–892). Mopsus' starting point is that humans have a fiery origin linking them to Olympus (cf. Virg. *Aen.* 6.730–1, 746–7; see 380n.). Hence it is against divine law to force the souls of others to return to heaven prematurely (in contrast to suicide, see 378–80n.). The souls of humans are assumed to continue to exist after death; humans are not dissolved into air and bones (see also Cic. *Tusc.* 1.27, 50–71). Therefore anger and pain (of victims) remain after death. Anchises' speech explains that the souls of the deceased stay responsible for their deeds on earth (particularly misdeeds) and hence actions committed while alive have consequences for the soul's future life (Virg. *Aen.* 6.724–51). Distinctions between different types of voluntary and involuntary murder with their respective punishments already appear in Plato (*Leg.* 9: 865a–867c).

After Mopsus has established that the souls of assassinated victims retain anger and pain (384), he turns to the consequences for themselves and their assassins. These souls apparently enter the underworld; for they are able to reveal their situation to Pluto. In response to their reports the god of the underworld reopens the door of death for the people killed: they are allowed to return to earth, accompanied by an Erinyes, and to punish their murderers (384–90). The introduction of Pluto is in line with traditional views of the underworld. This creates some tension with the preceding statement that souls have seeds that will return to heaven, which agrees with philosophical concepts.

Those who have killed against their will are tortured by their own feelings of conscience and unable to carry out further actions (391-6). At this point, with the description of a state matching the current one of the Argonauts (362-8), Mopsus indicates by a deictic comment (396) that this analysis applies to the Argonauts. For the Argonauts (rather than Cyzicus) form the focus of this exposition (but see Toohey 1992: 199-200). Mopsus does not talk about the behaviour of the souls of those killed accidentally, but his subsequent discussion shows that their shades have to be assuaged, in addition to the purification of their slayers (406-10).

As soon as he has provided a diagnosis, Mopsus immediately promises help (396-7), launching into an *ekphrasis* describing a place, situated between the world of the living and the underworld, where Celaeneus resides (397-406). Celaeneus cleanses the innocent (i.e. those who have killed inadvertently) from their error, removes their guilt (as their deed objectively qualifies as such) and placates the troubled shades of the dead victims (407-8). As Celaeneus has initiated Mopsus into rituals to be carried out to purify people who have killed (409-10), Mopsus and the Argonauts will be able to perform those. Accordingly, the seer's speech finishes with instructions for Jason (411-16).

Mopsus' speech has been criticized for being an incoherent assemblage of simplistic and well-known doctrines (Spaltenstein 1991: 94-5 and commentary, also Hershkovitz 1998b: 23). Indeed, it can be read as a combination of philosophical and traditional religious elements (like the account of the suicide of Jason's parents at 1.730-851): Mopsus' exposition, like that of Anchises in Virgil's *Aeneid* (see Norden *ad loc.* and introduction), includes elements of Neo-Pythagorean and Stoic doctrines (see e.g. Liberman on 3.380). At the same time the notion that the souls of the dead continue to exist, can come back to the world of the living in certain circumstances and then have to be treated well and be kept at a distance agrees with traditional elements of Roman religion, as demonstrated by the rituals at the festival of the Lemuria (e.g. Ov. *Fast.* 5.419-54).

Yet, the combination is not a random mixture. Mopsus' aim is to demonstrate the guilt of the Argonauts (since they have acted against divine law and have killed fellow humans) and simultaneously their innocence (since they have not acted on purpose and did not know what they were doing). The only potentially odd detail is that it is not made clear from the start that even the shades of those who have been killed involuntarily can become a problem for the murderers, although these shades (in contrast to those of the wilfully killed) are not paired with an Erinyes and do not actively haunt the perpetrators. Since one of the victims from Cyzicus recognized their opponents before his death, he was able to bring this knowledge to the shades (169-72), who can

therefore confront their killers (see Raabe 1974: 157). Because the aspect of mollifying the shades is initially disregarded in Mopsus' speech, the emphasis is on the tortures of one's own conscience. In any case the governing idea seems to be that matters are put right after death: those responsible for the death of others are punished, while virtue is rewarded, as transpires from the description of Elysium in connection with the death of Jason's parents (1.827-51).

377-8 *dicam*: confirmation that this is Mopsus' answer is postponed until the start of the next line (with the name fronted); instead the section opens with *dicam*, emphatically indicating that Mopsus is willing and able to help Jason. This beginning recalls the opening of Anchises' speeches on the life of souls after death (Virg. *Aen.* 6.722 *dicam equidem nec te suspensum, nate, tenebo*) and on the future of Rome (Virg. *Aen.* 6.759 *expediam dictis, et te tua fata docebo*). *penitus causas labemque docebo* elaborates on the introductory *dicam*. *causas labemque* is a hendiadys for 'the reasons for the disaster'. *et* presumably links *ait* referring to the introductory line and another implied *ait* opening the main part of the speech. *astra tuens* suggests a divinely inspired speech. More prosaically, the presence of stars gives an indication of the time (cf. 415, 417-18).

378-80 *non si ... | ... | perpetimur*: a periphrasis of the (philosophical) notion that humans ('we' refers to humans rather than to the Argonauts) are mortal and live for a limited period (cf. e.g. Sen. *Dial.* 6.21.1): humans have mortal bodies (*mortalia membra*), they have a brief time-span allotted (*sortitus ... breues*), and the time given to them is short (*parui tempora fati*). *perpetimur* might indicate that souls, which have a heavenly basis, are forced to endure being locked into a mortal body for the period of a human life (cf. Virg. *Aen.* 6.730-2). The notion that the soul can escape from the body underlies Cretheus' advice to his son Aeson, Jason's father, to commit suicide (1.749 *quin rapis hinc animam et famulos citus effugis artus?*). Ending one's own life prematurely seems not to be a problem (but cf. Virg. *Aen.* 6.434-9); a late death can even be seen as punishment (cf. 1.803-4 *mors sera uiam temptataque claudat | effugia*). *sortitusque* 'that which falls to one's lot, one's portion' (*OLD* 2; cf. Stat. *Theb.* 12.555-7).

380 *socius superi quondam ignis Olympi*: for a divine origin of or a divine element in men and a fiery nature of the soul cf. Anchises' speech at Virg. *Aen.* 6.730-2 *igneus est ollis uigor et caelestis origo | seminibus, quantum non noxia corpora tardant | terrenique hebetant artus moribundaque membra*, also Zeno, SVF I 126 (Varro, *Ling.* 5.59), 134 (Cic. *Acad. post.* 1.39, *Fin.* 4.12, *Tusc.* 1.19), Virg. *G.* 4.219-27, Sen. *Ep.* 66.12, 86.1, 120.14 (see Preiswerk 1934: 437-8). An apposition in the singular with a plural verb (*perpetimur*)

is unusual (see G–L §321); maybe this indicates that it is not each individual that used to be a *socius* of *Olympus* but mankind in general.

381–2 fas ... | ... caelo: the negation of this main clause has been moved to the beginning of the entire sentence (378 *non*), whereby it is emphatically stressed. **miscere neces:** *nex* (cf. 386) denotes any kind of ‘violent death, killing, murder, etc.’ (*OLD* 1a); *misceo* has the sense of ‘to inflict (blows, etc.) rapidly or indiscriminately’ (*OLD* 13c; cf. 6.428 *funera miscabant*, 631 *funera miscet*, Luc. 3.354). The wording illustrates the force of the action and its violation of the destined course (cf. 381–2). **hinc** ‘from the earth’. **redituraque semina caelo:** a second description, from a different perspective, elaborating on *animas* (epexegetic *-que*: *OLD -que* 6a): the seeds of life have come from heaven (see 380n.) and will go back there after death (dative instead of accusative of direction; see 194n.).

383 quippe nec in uentos ... soluimur ossa: Mopsus explains (*quippe*) why souls should not be driven from the earth prematurely with the rejection of the view that humans (again general ‘we’; cf. 380) are dissolved into air and bones at the point of death. The idea that souls continue to exist agrees with Stoic beliefs and contrasts with Epicurean doctrine (cf. Lucr. 3.455–6). **ultima:** an epithet with adverbial meaning in the sense of *ultimum* (‘at the end’).

384 ira manet duratque dolor: since humans are not dissolved into air and bones at the point of death (383), souls retain emotions such as *ira* and *dolor*. These emotions are singled out because of the focus on the souls of slaughtered victims: grief over an unjustified death and desire for revenge. The combination of *ira* and *dolor* or *luctus* and *dolor* appears elsewhere as a representation of powerful emotions that may lead to violent deeds but can also be soothed (cf. 2.165, 3.585–6, 4.88–9, 8.264, 290). The unrelenting character of these emotions is the reason for Juno’s activities against Aeneas and his men in Virgil’s *Aeneid* (1.25–6 *necdum etiam causae irarum saeuique dolores | exciderant animo*).

384–5 deinde indicates a movement forward in time to the point when the souls of the slain have entered the underworld and come to ‘Stygian Jupiter’. The souls’ arrival in the underworld, after it has been indicated that their seeds return to heaven, thus appears as a step in a temporal sequence (see 377–416n.). The same combination occurs in connection with the death of Jason’s father Aeson: a description of his entrance into the underworld follows the remark that his shade moves to the clouds, if these are understood as denoting the heavens (1.825–51; see Zissos on 1.825–6). Metrically, the word is scanned with synizesis (*dēinde*), rare in VF. **tremendi | ... Iouis:** i.e. Pluto, who reigns in the underworld.

References to him as ‘Jupiter + defining attribute’ are frequent (cf. e.g. 1.730 *Tartareo ... Ioui*, Hom. *Il.* 9.457, Virg. *Aen.* 4.638, Ov. *Fast.* 5.448, Sil. 1.386, 2.674; for the quality of *tremendus* associated with Pluto cf. Virg. *G.* 4.469–70 *Manisque adiit regemque tremendum | nesciaque humanis precibus mansuescere corda*, Sil. 2.673–4 *Alecto solium ante dei sedemque tremendam | Tartareo est operata Ioui poenasque ministrat*).

385 nefandam picks up *non ... fas* (378–81).

386 ollis: an older form of *illis*, only occurring once elsewhere in VF (5.126). The form is rare in Flavian epic, but is used in Lucretius and Virgil. Its appearance in a comparable passage in Virgil’s *Aeneid* (6.730; see 380n.) might have influenced its choice here. **ianua leti:** a paraphrase for the passage from life to death (cf. 4.231 *reclusaque ianua leti*, Virg. *Aen.* 2.661 *patelet isti ianua leto*, Stat. *Theb.* 3.68 *ianua leti*). Normally a return through this door is not possible (cf. 4.231, 5.82–95). Here too there is no return to life; instead, a reappearance on earth is granted for the purpose of carrying out revenge (387–90). Similarly, *pater ... Tartarus* allows the souls of the people slain by Amycus back to earth in order to watch Amycus’ fight with Pollux, in which he will receive ‘deserved punishment’ (4.258–60). The assumption that the shades of the dead can return to the living temporarily was one of the underlying ideas of the Roman festival of the Lemuria (see 377–416n.).

387–8 comes una sororum | additur: the returning souls of the slain are given one of the ‘sisters’ (i.e. Furies/Erinyes/Eumenides) as a companion. The presence of a Fury visualizes that the souls return to earth for the purpose of revenge.

388 pariter terras atque aequora lustrant: *pariter* stresses that the souls and the Furies together move over land and sea or that they move over both land and sea. The former is more likely, since it continues the idea that a Fury functions as a *comes* (for the phrasing cf. Luc. 5.347 *terras atque aequora lustral*, 9.1057 *terras atque aequora lustras*).

389–90 quisque ... | ... pulsant: each soul (*quisque*) punishes (*poenis | implicat*) those who have committed a crime against them (*suos sones inimicaque pectora*) and causes fear (*formidine*) for those who deserve it (*meritos*). *suos sones* (along with *quisque*) indicates the individual relationship: ‘their guilty men’, i.e. ‘those guilty against them’ (for this use of the possessive pronoun see 312–13n.). *inimicaque pectora* adds another aspect of the same group (epexegetic *-que*; see 381–2n.): *pectora* stands for their heart and feelings; *inimica* describes the relationship between the two parties. *meritos* presents the punishment of these murderers as justified (cf. 4.259). For the construction *poenis | implicat* cf. 31 *saeuis erroribus*

implicit urbem; for *pulsant* see *OLD pulso* 7b ‘to importune (a person) with prayers, complaints, etc.’. For a similar concept cf. Virg. *Aen.* 4.384–6 (Dido speaking) *sequar atris ignibus absens | et, cum frigida mors anima seduxerit artus, | omnibus umbra locis adero. dabis, improbe, poenas.* **quisque**: the dead souls of the murdered seeking revenge. Here there is an individualized perspective, followed by a switch back to the plural (Merone 1957: 40–1). For the phrasing cf. Virg. *Aen.* 6.743 *quisque suos patimur manis*.

391 at: the argument turns to those who have not killed on purpose but against their will (391–6). **quibus inuito maduerunt sanguine dextrae**: the impersonal description of the deeds of this second group supports the notion that they were not intended. *inuito* is a transferred epithet (see Zissos on 1.145–6), referring to the agents implied in *quibus* (*OLD inuitus* 1 ‘(used quasi-advl.) not wishing, unwilling, reluctant’) or to the subject *dextrae* in passive sense (*OLD inuitus* 3 ‘unwillingly done or used’). For the phrasing cf. Luc. 1.95 *fraterno primi maduerunt sanguine muri*.

392 si fors saeua tulit miseris et proxima culpa ‘if fate brought the miserable ones something cruel and very close to guilt’. The sense of this line is clear, but in its transmitted form the construction is difficult. The slight changes suggested by Delz (1991: 15) adopted here create a plausible structure (*saeua* and *proxima* interpreted as accusatives). The verse refers to those who have committed murder unwillingly: ‘fate’ has forced them to commit deeds that come very close to guilt; these individuals are to be pitied.

393–6 hos ... | ... | ... | segnitium: people who have killed inadvertently are not punished by the souls of their victims initiating revenge but by their own minds; this ‘self-punishment’ is stressed by the added pronouns *mens ipsa* and *sua* ... | *facta*. That people who have killed in a civil war are haunted by appearances of their victims at night is stressed in Lucan (7.771–6).

395 in ... fatiscunt ‘they become exhausted and turn to’ (*OLD fatisco* 3). **humilesque metus** ‘lowly fears’: fears not appropriate to men of their status (*OLD humilis* 4).

395–6 aegramque ... | segnitium: *aegram* refers back to *aegro assidue mens carpitur aestu* (365), and *segnitium* picks up *segnique inuat frigescere luctu* (368) in the description of the Argonauts. These verbal allusions indicate that the situation described by Mopsus corresponds to the state of the Argonauts, even before this connection is made explicit (396).

396 quos ecce uidēs: the general description is applied to the Argonauts by pointing to the visual evidence. **quos**: a connective relative with the force of *quales*.

396–7 nostra requiret | cura uiam: the plural *nostra* ... | *cura* denotes Mopsus (G–L §204 n. 7). Because of his previous initiation, Mopsus is confident that he will find a remedy for the Argonauts’ situation (*OLD requiro* 3b).

397 memori ... cognita uati: Mopsus’ referring to himself as *uates* stresses that what is about to follow is based on special knowledge imparted to a prophet or seer (*OLD* 1; contrast 217); during the performance of the ritual Mopsus will be called *sacerdos* (432). With the reading *uati* (dat.), found in a now lost manuscript of Burman, the word depends on *cognita*, agreeing with *domus* (399). This introduction integrates the subsequent *ekphrasis* (*est* ...) into the argument.

399 Cimmerium domus: the location of ‘the home of the Cimmerii’ (*OLD domus* 4; on the gen. see 4n.) is described by almost an entire line between this subject and the predicate *cognita* ... | *est* (397–8), incorporating further hyperbata: *deuexa* (398) most likely goes with *domus* and governs *ad Stygiae ... silentia noctis*. This vividly illustrates that the region of the Cimmerii is located between the upper world and the underworld, on a downward path, and is an eerie place (see also MacIntyre 2008: 111–13). The name Cimmerii and the characterization of this area seem to be inspired by Homer and Ovid; these passages include the features that the region never sees the sunlight and is continuously dark and that there are no animals and no noises from beasts or trees moved by the wind (Hom. *Od.* 11.14–19, Ov. *Mel.* 11.592–604 *est prope Cimmerios longo spelunca recessu, | mons cauius, ignaui domus et penetralia Somni: | quo numquam radiis oriens mediusue cadensue | Phoebus adire potest; nebulae caligine mixtae | exhalantur humo dubiaeque crepuscula lucis. | non uigil ales ibi cristati cantibus oris | euocat Auroram, nec uoce silentia rumpunt | sollicitiue canes canibusue sagacior anser; | non fera, non pecudes, non moti flamine rami | humanaeue sonum reddunt conuicia linguae: | mula quies habitat; saxo tamen exit ab imo | riuus aquae Lethes, per quem cum murmure labens | inuitat somnos crepulantibus unda lapillis*, cf. also AR 2.729–45; *Culex* 231–3, [Tib.] 3.7.64–6, Stat. *Theb.* 10.84–117). VF’s description associates the place with the underworld and the shades, and only here is it presented as the residence of Celaeneus (406 with n.). There may be an allusion to a Sibylline figure located near the entrance to the underworld and providing help; the Cimmerian Sibyl has been known in Latin epic since Naevius (cf. Lactant. *Div. inst.* 1.6.9; see Boyancé (1964) 1972: 352). The warriors at Colchis include a

people of this name living in the human world (6.60-4). **superis incognita tellus**: the place is not only located far off on the path down to the underworld (though not the underworld itself, see 1.827-51); it is even unfamiliar to 'those above'. Elsewhere in VF *superus* refers to the heavens (2.94, 3.380, 4.73, 761, 6.113, 7.498): 'the heavenly gods' emphasizes the contrast to this infernal region close to the underworld. *incognitus* does not imply that the heavenly gods do not know about this region, rather that they have no direct experience of it (OLD 3). Such an area not visited by the gods recalls the abode of Invidia in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, which gods like Minerva cannot enter (2.766-7).

400 caeruleo tenebrosa situ 'dark by its dusky decay' (OLD *caeruleus* 9d, *situs*³ 2a). For similar descriptions applied to the underworld cf. Virg. *Aen.* 6.461-2 *sed me iussa deum, quae nunc has ire per umbras, | per loca senta situ cogunt noctemque profundam*, Ov. *Met.* 1.113-14 *postquam Saturno tenebrosa in Tartara misso | sub Ioue mundus erat*.

400-1 quo ... | ... annos: this area never sees daylight brought by the sun or a change of seasons (see 399n.) determined by the stars (OLD *annus* 7): the stars are seen as regulating the seasons and balance the reference to the sun shaping the alternation of day and night. Sol and Jupiter are envisaged as gods controlling weather phenomena. There is no Sol in Invidia's abode either (Ov. *Met.* 2.762). **iuga**: lit. 'yokes', metonymically the Sun's chariot (OLD 3b).

402 stant <ta>citae frondes: *frondes* ('leaves') functions as *pars pro toto*, picked up by *silua*.

402-3 immotaque silua ... | horret: there is no movement (and hence no noise) in the wood. Dense forest is a frequent characteristic of entrances to underworld places in epic (e.g. Virg. *Aen.* 7.565-6, Stat. *Theb.* 10.84-6, Sil. 12.120-5). The lack of wind again recalls Invidia's abode (Ov. *Met.* 2.762; see 399, 400-1nn.). **comanti** | ... **iugo**: the forest stands on a mountain ridge (OLD *iugum* 8), *comanti* describing its appearance with the trees 'bristling' on top (OLD *horreo* 2). The area is presented as having a proper landscape including a forest, a mountain ridge and a cave. **Auerna**: Heinsius' emendation of the transmitted *uerna*. This characterization of the wood, alluding to the underworld (OLD *Auermus* 2 'of the underworld, infernal'), reinforces the unnatural character and implies a lack of birds (Greek ἀόρνος 'without birds'), which might be a reason for the silence in the forest (cf. Lucr. 6.738-46, 818-29, Sil. 12.122-4).

403-4 specus umbrarumque meatus | subter: beneath the wooded mountain ridge there is a cave, into and out of which shades move; this is

indicated by a paratactical combination of a noun describing the place and another indicating movement.

404 Oceani praeceps fragor: in Homer's *Odyssey* the Cimmerii are located at the edge of the ocean (11.13-14), often seen as a boundary between heaven and earth. *praeceps* is a transferred epithet: noise arises with the Ocean 'rushing forward' (OLD 2). While there is absolute silence on the ridges (402-3), there are sounds in the area below (*subter*).

404-5 aruaque nigro | uasta metu: *nigro* is another transferred epithet (which gives an even distribution of adjectives): the gloominess of the area (cf. 400) evokes fear. Changing *nigro* | ... *metu* to *pigro* | ... *situ* (Giardina 2008: 52) is not necessary.

406 ensifer: carrying a sword is not incompatible with the status of a priestly figure: Mopsus has a sword (425), as does Medon when he sacrifices in the town of Cyzicus (119). **Celaeneus**: the person who resides in the place described and from whom Mopsus has received advice. Although people of this name are attested (a son of Electryon and Anaxo and brother of Alcmena: cf. Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.4.5, Σ Lycoph. *Alex.* 932b, perhaps Hes. f 193.14 M.-W.; a descendant of Pan: cf. Nonnus, *Dion.* 14.74, 324), the figure of Celaeneus in the country of the Cimmerii (399) does not occur elsewhere. The name, if understood as a speaking name (from Greek κελαινός, 'black, dark'), fits the dark setting and the black clothing. There is a town called Celaenae in Phrygia, the domain of Cybele (cf. Ov. *Fast.* 4.363-4), which would make a person with a similar name suited to cleansing those provoked to murder by Cybele. Sauer (2011: 149 n. 657) connects Celaeneus with Triptolemus, the son of king Celeus of Eleusis, regarded as a judge in the underworld probably on the basis of Orphic traditions (cf. Pl. *Ap.* 41a, Cic. *Tusc.* 1.98), but VF's Celaeneus is not a 'judge', and this interpretation assumes an unusual form of a patronymic (for Triptolemus see 1.68-70).

407 insontes errore luit 'he (i.e. Celaeneus) frees the innocent from their error' (OLD *luo*² 5a, where the passage is cited as '(transf.)'). People who have killed against their will have committed an 'error' and not a 'crime'; therefore they can be regarded as 'innocent' (cf. 391-2). **culpamque remittens**: although the people in question have just been described as 'innocent', Celaeneus 'releases the guilt'. They can be regarded as guilty, since they have committed what amounts to a crime, even though unintentionally. The juxtaposition of the two notions illustrates the two perspectives. This phrase touching on the aspect of 'guilt' is linked with the action of placating the shades of the dead (408); this phrasing indicates that the victims are among those who see the perpetrators as 'guilty'.

408 carmina ... manes: the shades placated by songs must be those of the unwittingly slain victims (cf. 384–90). For the phrasing cf. 5.98 *carmina quin etiam uisos placantia manes*, 7.463 *carmina ... uoluit* (*OLD* uoluo 10).

409 ille mihi: the description of Celaeneus' activity is followed by the advice he gave to Mopsus; the fronted pronouns indicate the change of focus and the relationship between the two.

409–10 quae ... | prodidit: that the slain are given *lustramina* indicates that they are to be placated, picking up Celaeneus' pacifying the troubled souls (408). **forent:** i.e. *essent*. **lustramina** 'purificatory offerings'. *lustramen* (a noun derived from *lustrare*) is attested only here and at 442.

410 ille uolens ... rexit 'he willingly disclosed' (*OLD* relego 3). **Erebum tenebrasque:** *tenebrasque* (Gronovius' widely accepted emendation of the transmitted *terrasque*) yields an emphatic double expression; Erebus is the dark abyss underground and also the underworld more generally (e.g. 2.120, 6.292, Virg. *Aen.* 4.26, 6.247, 404, 671). This second item of Celaeneus' revelations suggests that he went beyond giving advice on purificatory offerings to the slain and showed Mopsus the underworld (although this is not quite where he resides), which endows Mopsus with a revered and authoritative status.

411 ergo: Mopsus moves on to drawing consequences by giving instructions to Jason (on this emphatic use of *ergo* see Zissos on 1.31–2). Divine advice on a pacifying ritual, followed by a description of the ritual itself, has a model in Aristaeus' experiences in Virgil's *Georgics* (4.538–53). **ubi ... undas:** purification rites tend to take place at sunrise; the emerging day can already contribute to freeing from night-time terror (e.g. 5.329–32, Stat. *Theb.* 9.570–4, Sil. 8.124–5, 13.413–23). *oriens* refers to the sun (*OLD* oriens² 1), focusing on a characteristic relevant in the context. Burman's emendation *accenderit* of the transmitted *ascenderit* yields a known collocation (cf. Virg. *G.* 4.401 *medios cum sol accenderit aestus*, Sil. 3.671 *medius cum sol accendit Olympum*). *puniceas* may be understood as a proleptic epithet, in the sense that the waves become 'brilliant red' when lit by the rising sun, or it could be a transferred epithet describing the appearance of the morning sun (cf. 7.539 *puniceo ... sub ortu*, Virg. *Aen.* 12.76–7 *cum primum crastina caelo | puniceis inuecta rotis Aurora rubebit*).

412 te ... adhibere: the transmitted *tu ... adhibere* can only be interpreted as an infinitive used as an imperative. Since this is not common in literary and poetic language (though accepted by Langen), most editors emend by changing either *tu* to *te* (Koster 1973: 94–5) or *adhibere* to *adhibe*, which is also found in late manuscripts (Samuelsson 1899: 46–7, Courtney

1965: 152). The change from *tu* to *te* is slight and yields a parallel in structure as well as a contrast between *te* (412) and *me* (413). What results is an accusative + infinitive, dependent on *fas* (cf. 381), to be inferred from *haud fas* (414). **socios adhibere sacris armentaue:** syllepsis, with different meanings of the verb for each object (*OLD* adhibeo 3a 'to bring in, call in, have present (as a witness, audience, etc.)', 9a 'to provide, supply; (also, w. dat.) to render, offer, contribute').

412–13 armentaue ... | bina: Mopsus advises Jason to get two bulls ready for a sacrifice to the 'great gods', while Mopsus completes a ritual elsewhere (413–15). During the ceremonies sheep are sacrificed after Mopsus and the Argonauts are reunited (430–1, 439–40). Therefore it has been suggested that these two items refer to different elements: a sacrifice of cattle by the Argonauts and a sacrifice of sheep by Mopsus and the Argonauts (Lieberman). Yet it has equally been argued that Mopsus does not say that Jason should sacrifice these animals in his absence (Spaltenstein); then either *armenta* has to be understood in a broad sense (which seems to be without parallels), or it has to be assumed that the thread involving the *armenta* is not followed up. The sacrifice of two animals is standard for underworld rituals or offerings to the dead (cf. Hom. *Od.* 10.527–8, Virg. *Aen.* 5.96–7, Serv. ad Virg. *Ecl.* 5.66 *cum constet supernos deos impari gaudere numero, infernos uero pari, ut 'numero deus impare gaudet'* (Virg. *Ecl.* 8.75), *quod etiam pontificales indicant libri*). Cattle are sacrificed to the gods of the underworld in Virgil's *Aeneid* (6.251–3); and a sacrifice of cattle is implied in the propitiatory ritual in AR's Cyzicus episode (1.1107–8). **magnis | ... deis:** *magnus* can be an epithet of a number of gods (e.g. 667, 4.602; see Appel 1909: 100). The context here suggests gods of the underworld, though the term may also be applied to Cybele and gods like her (cf. Polyaeus 7.5; see Lobeck 1829: 1226).

413–14 iam ... | ... interea, donec emphasizes that the period indicated covers the entire time from now on until both parties have completed their preparations during the night.

414–15 donec lustralia pernox | uota fero: Mopsus will carry out further purifying activities during the night and rejoin the Argonauts soon after sunrise. *donec* + indicative present expresses complete coextension between the actions in the subordinate clause and those in the main clause (C–L §569).

415 mouet en gelidos Latonia currus: since Mopsus has scheduled the purification and atonement ritual for sunrise, the movement of the moon signals that it is time to finish speaking and start preparations. This indication of time is a convenient way to bring the speech to an end;

at the same time the deictic *en* suggests that this closure is based on the character's reaction to the advancing time. The setting for Mopsus' subsequent nightly activities is just after the middle of the night (417–18), a point in time for which Mopsus is waiting (419); stars were already up at the beginning of his speech (378). **gelidos** ... **currus**: like the Sun or the Night (cf. 2.295, 3.211 with n.), the Moon is envisaged as travelling across the sky in a horse-drawn chariot (e.g. *Hymn. Hom.* 32.9–11, Tib. 1.8.21, Ov. *Mel.* 2.208–9, Stat. *Ach.* 1.619–20). *gelidos* is a transferred epithet: the moon and thus the night are 'cold' in contrast to the warm and fiery sun (400–1). **Latonia** 'daughter of Leto', i.e. Diana, here personification of the Moon.

416 placitis ... **coeptis**: *coeptis* is dative, and with the transmitted *placitis* it means 'for the agreed initiatives'.

3. Purification and atonement ceremony (417–458)

According to Mopsus' instructions (411–16) at the end of his speech (377–416), the purification and atonement ceremony starts with preparations performed by Mopsus on his own during the night (417–29); after he has rejoined the Argonauts (430–3), the men and their equipment are cleansed (433–43), and the shades of the dead are appeased (444–58). Based on the ritual that Mopsus has learned from Celaeneus (406–8), the ceremony consists of cleansing the Argonauts from feelings of 'guilt' and placating the shades of the dead victims (see also Tschiedel 2003: 28, Sauer 2011: 149–50, Stover 2012b: 172). This ensures that the Argonautic voyage, and thus events as determined by Jupiter's plan of the world (1.531–60), can proceed (see also 377–416n.); preventing the shades from getting to Greece means that the battle on Cyzicus foreshadows the clash between Greece and Asia but does not directly lead to further conflicts.

The description of the ritual goes beyond the indications in Mopsus' speech. Most of the details are standard elements of religious ceremonies. Some of the features of the cult ceremonies for Cybele on a mountain in AR reappear: for instance, fetching sacrificial animals (AR 1.1107–8, VF 3.431), creating wooden figures (AR 1.1117–22, VF 3.444–5), erecting altars (AR 1.1123, VF 3.426–7), crowning people with branches (AR 1.1123b–4, VF 3.424–5, 436), offering sacrificial gifts (AR 1.1124, 1133–4, VF 3.456–7), invoking deities or shades (AR 1.1125–33, VF 3.448–55), walking around in armour (AR 1.1134–5, VF 3.430). Further, the shape of the ritual in VF has a Roman aspect, since its elements are similar to lustrations performed for Roman armies (cf. App. *B Civ.* 5.96, on a lustration carried out by Octavian in 36 BCE).

417–18 iamque sopor ... | ... **mundo**: the ritual starts in the middle of the night; this confirms the temporal sequence set out by Mopsus (414–16; see 415n.). The section on the Argonauts being driven back to Cyzicus, which causes the battle, equally starts with a sketch of calm night (32–8). **iamque**: see 357n. **circum**: a prefix separated from its verb or to be taken as an adverb.

419 cum: i.e. *cum inuersum* (see Woodcock §237). **uigil**: for similar poetic descriptions of night contrasted with an individual's activities cf. e.g. AR 3.744–50, Virg. *Aen.* 4.522–8. **arcani** ... **sacri**: Mopsus looks out for (*OLD specular* 3b) the time for the 'secret ritual' (cf. Hor. *Carm.* 3.2.26–7 *qui Cereris sacrum* | *uolgarit arcanae*, *Epod.* 5.52 *arcana cum fiunt sacra*), a special ritual only known to the initiated.

420 Ampycides: a patronymic for Mopsus (see 372n.). **aduersis** ... **siluis**: the forest is in front of Mopsus as he walks.

420–1 Aesepia ... | **flumina**: the river Aesepus (poetic plural) between the regions of Troas and Mysia, with its source in the area of mount Ida (cf. Σ AR 1.1114–15b, Hom. *Il.* 2.825, 4.91, 12.21, Strab. 12.4.6). AR mentions the river in the description of Cyzicus and its surroundings (1.940, 1115).

421 aequoreas pariter decurrit ad undas 'he runs down at its side to the waves of the sea'. Mopsus is described as following the river's course down to the sea, with a pointed use of the verb, which can also be used for rivers 'flowing down' (*OLD decurro* 1, 2).

422 sale purpureo uiuaque ... **lympa**: Mopsus purifies himself with salty sea water and fresh river water; the use of both indicates a thorough ritual cleansing (see Rohde 1925: 588–90; for water used for purification cf. Cic. *S. Rosc.* 71, Virg. *Aen.* 4.635, 6.229, 635–6, Ov. *Fast.* 4.778). *purpureus* is a frequent epithet of the sea (e.g. Virg. *G.* 4.373), developed from the Homeric 'purple salty sea' (*Il.* 16.391 ἄλα πορφυρέην). *uiuus* with reference to water means 'fresh' (*OLD* 6). Medea too seeks purification by river water after a bad dream (5.329–32, 341–2).

422–3 nitentia ... | **membra nouat**: *nitentia* is proleptic since purification with water makes Mopsus' limbs 'radiant'. *nouare* illustrates the impact of the ceremony, since Mopsus' body becomes like 'new' (*OLD nouo* 5c 'to cleanse, freshen up'; cf. Ov. *Her.* 4.90 *haec reparat uires fessaque membra nouat*, Stat. *Ach.* 1.179–80).

423 horrificis ... **actis**: independent of its supportive intention, the ritual can appear as 'inspiring awe or horror, dreadful, frightening' (*OLD horrificus* 1).

424–5 tempora ... | implicat: as a next step (*tum*) Mopsus puts on the appropriate garb, surrounding his head with woollen bands and olive twigs. *uillae*, ‘woollen bands worn or used in religious ritual’ (*OLD* 2a), define Mopsus as a priestly figure (cf. 1.840). Olive branches are often used in supplication (cf. Stat. *Theb.* 12.492 *uittatae laurus et supplicis arbor oliuae*) and are a symbol of peace (Virg. *Aen.* 8.116 *paciferae ... ramum ... oliuae*); they also appear in cleansing rituals (cf. Virg. *Aen.* 6.229–31 *idem ter socios pura circumtulit unda | spargens rore leui et ramo felicitis oliuae, | lustrauitque uiros*).

425 stricto designat litora ferro: the final step of the preparations is setting up the venue (see also MacIntyre 2008: 113–15): since there is no existing temple or altar on the shore of Cyzicus, Mopsus designates a section as a sacred enclosure (*OLD* *designo* 5) by marking it out with the sword in the sand (on priestly figures with swords see 406n.).

426–7 circum humiles aras ignotaque nomina diuum | instituit: lit. ‘all around he erects low altars and unknown names of gods’, i.e. ‘low altars for unknown gods’. The low altars may suggest that they are intended for gods of the underworld. The second phrase adds an abstract term paratactically (with transferred epithet), elaborating on the preceding concrete term; the ‘name’ stands for the ‘person’, added in the genitive in a periphrastic construction (*OLD* *nomen* 17b). Scholars have asked whether these gods are unknown to everybody or to all but Mopsus (for the latter view see Boyancé (1935) 1972: 332–3, Fuà 1978); in view of the focalised narrative and the fact that a superior knowledge of Mopsus in this respect is not mentioned, it is more likely a generic term. Because of the ritual’s purpose a reference to local gods unknown to the Argonauts (thus apparently Lobeck 1829: 599 and n.) is less probable. For the concept of ‘unknown gods’, already in Greek culture, see Lobeck 1829: 599, Norden 1913: esp. 115–24, van der Horst 1989: 1443; for ‘unknown gods’ in Latin epic, in different contexts, cf. Ov. *Met.* 14.366 *ignotosque deos ignoto carmine adorat*, Stat. *Ach.* 1.139–40 *ibi ignotis horrenda piacula diuis | donaque*.

427 siluaque super contristat opaca ‘he makes them (i.e. the altars) gloomy with dark foliage on top’. The verb *contristat* heightens the sombre atmosphere (*OLD* b). The adjective *opaca* need not suggest foliage from a particularly dark species of tree (*OLD* *silua* 3a; cf. 311) but rather emphasizes the general appearance (for decking altars with boughs cf. Virg. *Aen.* 3.22–5).

428–9 utque ... | addidit: Mopsus gives *metus* (‘respectful awe’), *numen* (‘divine presence’) and *sacra quies* (‘holy silence’) to a designated area (cf. 425) and thus turns it into a sacred precinct (cf. Luc. 1.608 *datque locis numen*).

429 ardenti ... alto ‘he calls forth a bright beam from the glowing deep sea’. The rising sun at the end of Mopsus’ preparations allows for a transition to the shared ritual according to his instructions (411–15). Besides, this description frames the section with elaborate indications of light and time (417–18, 429). **euocat** indicates that by the time preparations have finished it is early morning with a focus on Mopsus, who has timed the procedure (Dräger, Spaltenstein). It need not imply that Mopsus is instrumental in bringing the dawn about, in the sense of ‘call to rise’ or ‘make it rise due to magic spells’ (*TLL* v 2, 1054.35–9 understands it as ‘ciere, citare’; cf. (about a cock) Ov. *Met.* 11.597–8 *non uigil ales ... cantibus ... | euocat Auroram*). Some scholars have dealt with the difficult expression by emendation (adopting Froehner’s *emical*) or have interpreted ‘precibus inuocare ut emicet’ (Samuelsson 1899: 114–15). **alto:** the deep sea (*OLD* 1) is already lit (*ardenti*) by the sun, now rising into the sky.

430 Argoa manus: Mopsus’ preparations have reached the point where, according to his instructions (411–15), he and the Argonauts will rejoin on *Argoa manus* see 3n.). Castelletti (2012) points out that the initial letters of 430–4 form the acrostic *aidos*. **uariis insignis in armis:** the Argonauts are wearing their armour, conspicuous by varied decoration. Both the men and their armour are to be cleansed (441–2).

431 lectas aurata fronte bidentes: specially selected sheep (*OLD* *bidens*² 1) with gilded horns serve as sacrificial animals (cf. 1.89–90, Virg. *Aen.* 4.57 *mactant lectas de more bidentis*, 5.96, 6.38–9, 9.627 *aurata fronte iuuencum*, Plin. *HN* 33.39; on the animals sacrificed see 412–13n.).

432 Delius ... sacerdos: i.e. Mopsus, now characterized as a *sacerdos* rather than a *uates* (see 397n.; cf. 1.210, 383, 3.397, 4.546), called *Delius* after the isle of Delos, which was an important cult-site of his divine father Phoebus (see 372n.). **longe candenti ueste** ‘in a robe shining afar’. This element of Mopsus’ priestly garb was not mentioned in his preparations (424–5); it complements the picture of the priest ready for a solemn ceremony. Mopsus wears a long white robe when he joins the Argo (1.385 *palla imos ferit alba pedes*); white is a standard colour of priestly clothing (see Zissos *ad loc.*). For the phrasing cf. Virg. *Aen.* 6.645 *nec non Threicius longa cum ueste sacerdos*, transferred from Orpheus, who appears in this scene in AR (1.1134), but not in VF (cf. Stover 2012b: 163).

433–4 occurrit ramoque uocat iamque ... | stat: the Argonauts’ approach sets the scene (imperfect: *ibat*, 431), while Mopsus’ appearance (historic present) starts a rapid narrative. **ramoque ... | ... lauro:** a branch from a laurel tree. **recenti** | ... **tumulo:** a mound erected during the preparations for the ritual or one of the tombs for the dead people of

Cyzicus. **placida transmittens agmina lauro** 'letting the troops pass with peaceful laurel': Mopsus has the Argonauts walk past him on the *tumulus* and touches them with a laurel branch as they pass (*OLD transmittito* 4). **agmina**, a term with military connotations, is fitting for the Argonauts in arms (430, 441-2). The laurel tree is sacred to Apollo (cf. *Ov. Met.* 1.557-65, *Plin. HN* 12.3) and thus an appropriate choice for 'Phoebian Mopsus' (see 372n.). A comparable activity with a different tree appears in Virgil's *Aeneid* (6.230-1 *spargens rore leui et ramo felicitis oliuae*, | *lustrauitque uiros*) and, as an initiatory procedure to the underworld, in Statius (*Theb.* 8.9-10).

435 ducit et: another postponed conjunction (see 44n.). **ad fluuios:** presumably the river at which Mopsus purified himself (420-3).

435-6 uincula soluere ... | ... pedum: removing the sandals agrees with Roman conventions for sacrificial practices: all fastenings were to be loosened to be free of all fetters and achieve the necessary purity (cf. *Serv. ad Virg. Aen.* 2.134 *piaculum est in sacrificio aliquid esse religatum*).

436 prima: an adjective for an adverb; the sequence is continued by *hinc* (437). **glaucasque ... frondes:** dark foliage (*OLD glaucus* 1 d), appropriate to a ritual concerned with the dead (cf. 427 and n., *Virg. Aen.* 6.215 *frondibus atris*).

437 hinc separates the preparations (*prima*, 436) from the ritual procedures; while each element of the preparations has its own main verb, the last of those (*imperial*) also governs what follows after *hinc*. **alte Phoebi surgentis ad orbem:** turning to the rising sun is an element of rituals (cf. *Virg. Aen.* 8.68-70, 12.172-4, *Ov. Fast.* 4.777-8). That the sun is called Phoebus (also at 481, 559) suggests a connection to Apollo, like Mopsus' person and the use of laurel (see 372, 434nn.).

438 ferre manus ... procumbere: a typical position of prayer: raising the hands (*OLD fero* 11a) and prostrating oneself (*OLD procumbo* 1b); cf. *Lucr.* 5.1200-1 *nec procumbere humi prostratum et pandere palmas | ante deum delubra*. **totosque simul procumbere campis:** *totosque* is Eyssenhart's (1862: 386) emendation of the transmitted *totisque*, to eliminate the hyperbolic expression 'all over the plain'. *totosque* refers to the Argonauts as the subject in the accusative within the infinitive construction (cf. 133) and is equivalent to *toto corpore* 'with their entire body' (Langen). Liberman (in comm.) objects that this interpretation does not agree with the genuflexion implied in *procumbere*; he therefore prefers to understand *totosque* as equivalent to *omnes*. But *procumbere* generally means 'to prostrate oneself', and there may be a contrast

between the hands and the rest of the body. *campis* is an ablative of place (poetic plural) without preposition (cf. *Virg. Aen.* 5.481, *Luc.* 5.360, *Tac. Hist.* 5.3.2, *Apul. Met.* 10.5). Wagner (1893: 621) suggested replacing both words by *pronisque ... palmis*, but this would duplicate the beginning of the line.

439 tunc: the narrative moves on to the slaughter of sacrificial animals. **piceae mactantur oues:** in this ritual, directed to infernal gods and shades, the animals are 'black' (cf. *Virg. Aen.* 5.96-7 *caedit binas de more bidentis | totque sues, totidem nigrantis terga iuuenkos*, 6.152-3, *Sil.* 13.404-6). These are presumably the sheep whose gilded horns were indicated earlier (431).

439-40 prosectaque partim | † pectora † per medios ... Idmon: if the transmitted text is retained (see Strand 1972: 90-1), it will have to be assumed that *pectora* are cut into pieces (*prosectaque ... | pectora*), that Mopsus and Idmon share carrying those (*partim | ... partim*), with *gerit Mopsus* to be inferred as subject and predicate of the first part, and that the two seers are said to bear them right among the group of the Argonauts (*per medios*). This phrasing is unusual, complex and elliptical, which has given rise to a number of conjectures. Recent editors have replaced *pectora per medios* by *per medios Mopsus* (Lieberman, Spaltenstein): this clarifies the subject, turns *prosecta* into a noun and an object on its own, as it usually is (e.g. *Stat. Theb.* 5.641 *ubi auerso dederat prosecta Tonanti*), and removes the uncommon use of *pectora* in the sense of 'sacrificial flesh'; yet it is a major change. At purificatory sacrifices no meat was eaten by the people attending or offered to the gods as a meal (contrast 2.347-8); instead everything was burnt and therefore not normally cut into pieces. Hence it is best to obelize. **per medios:** supply *Argonautas*. **obuius Idmon:** Idmon is the second of the Argo's seers (see 175n.), now introduced as assisting in the ritual. *obuius* (*OLD* 1) reinforces the idea that Idmon is moving among the Argonauts (see also Schenkl 1871: 84-5).

441 ter ... ter: for this number in religious ceremonies see 347-8 with n. **tacitos egere gradus:** the subject is not identified (for the phrase cf. 8); scholars infer either the seers or the Argonauts. The former is more likely since this passage describes the activities of these two men, and such a sentence structure creates a better parallel between the two phrases introduced by *ter*.

441-3 ter ... | ... | pone iacit: the subject changes from plural to singular; this must again be Mopsus, the main agent, rather than the other seer Idmon, who was mentioned last but only has an ancillary function. **lustramina ponto | pone iacit:** for the ritual

between Greece and Asia, but also makes it clear that this battle will not immediately result in further conflict (see 417–58n.).

453 ululare: an activity of shades coming back to the upper world at night (cf. Ov. *Fast.* 2.553–4 *perque uias urbis latosque ululasse per agros | deformes animas, uolgens inane, ferunt*, Sen. *Thy.* 670 *ululantque manes*; see 232n.). Because of the connection with Hecate this may happen at ‘crossroads’ (*triuuis*): cf. e.g. Virg. *Aen.* 4.609 *nocturnisque Hecate triuuis ululata per urbes*. **pecorique satisque** ‘livestock and crops’. The first *-que* adds the entire clause. In the first half the negation is transferred to *nullae* (454); *nec* (454) then adds another negated phrase. The predicate in the second half has to be supplied also in the first half (*ingruant*).

454 ideo ‘therefore’, i.e. as a consequence of the shades being in Greece. **pestes nec luctifer ... annus** ‘pestilence nor a grief-bringing year’, a combination of a concrete and an abstract notion, i.e. bad weather in the course of seasonal changes (*OLD annus* 7). The phrase seems modelled with variation upon Virg. *Aen.* 3.138–9 *miserandaque uenit | arboribusque satisque lues et letifer annus*.

455 populi nostriue ... minores ‘the people (i.e. our fellow citizens living in Greece, taking up *Graias*) or our descendants’ (for the wording cf. Virg. *Aen.* 6.822 *infelix, ulcumque ferent ea facta minores*). The notion that later generations have to pay for their ancestors’ deeds is already found in Solon’s elegy to the Muses (F 13.29–32 West).

456 dixerat: a frequent formula to indicate the conclusion of a speech and an immediate transition to the next step; in those phrases the pluperfect seems to be used like a Greek aorist (G–L §241 n. 1).

457 dapes agrees with *summas*, object of *intulit* (456); *libauitque* emphasizes that it is an offering (*OLD libo*¹ 1b ‘to make an offering (of the first part) of’). *summas* shows that presenting these offerings is the last step in the ritual (*OLD* 5). In Virgil’s *Aeneid*, the same beginning of a line (5.92 *libauitque dapes*) forms one expression and refers to the activities of a snake (*OLD libo*¹ 3 ‘to consume a little of, sip, nibble (food or drink)’). In that ritual for the dead *dapes* are consumed; in the purification ceremony here the sacrificial flesh is devoured by flames or thrown into the sea (439–43). **placidi:** this characterization of the serpents, which represent the dead as their servants (458), is the most explicit indication that the shades accept Mopsus’ terms (cf. *placide* at Virg. *Aen.* 5.86). **angues:** the appearance of snakes after offerings to the dead recalls Aeneas’ sacrifice to his father in Virgil’s *Aeneid*, where the snake is described in greater detail (5.84–94). Aeneas does not know whether to regard the snake as *genium loci* or *samulum parentis* (5.95). In Silius

Italicus serpents are interpreted as representing *manes* and *umbra* (2.584–94; see Rohde 1925: 170 and n. 113 (p. 202)).

458 linguis ... coruscis: the tongues of the snakes are ‘moving rapidly, trembling, quivering’ (*OLD coruscus* 1).

J. Mopsus’ instructions for departure (459–461)

Immediately after the completion of the purification and atonement ritual (417–58) Mopsus orders the Argonauts to depart from Cyzicus, and they follow eagerly (462–4). Since their earlier failure to leave was only due to their feelings of guilty conscience (362–8), now that these problems are overcome, they are ready to move on. While heroic deeds are typically recorded and remembered, here the epic narrator keeps them solely in the minds of readers while the characters themselves are meant to forget them (cf. Walter 2014: 47–8).

In AR the sacrifices for Cybele end with a feast at an unspecified time; it is added that at the following dawn the winds had subsided and the Argonauts could depart from Cyzicus (1.1150–2). The different conclusion in VF could be inspired by Aeneas’ report of leaving the Strophades in Virgil’s *Aeneid* (3.289–90 *linquere tum portus iubeo et considerare transtris. | certatim socii feriunt mare et aequora uerrunt*): after a ritual act of cleansing an authority figure tells the men to get to their seats in the ship, and they immediately start rowing in competition. The Argonauts’ departure is further reminiscent of the Trojans leaving Thrace in Virgil’s *Aeneid*, when they learn that Polydorus has been killed and thereby hospitality profaned; after they have offered fresh funeral rites, they leave as soon as sailing conditions allow (3.13–68).

459 continuo: as soon as it is clear that the atonement ritual has been successful, Mopsus has the Argonauts (implied object) depart. **considerare transtris:** a standard phrase for rowers taking their seats (cf. 2.442, Virg. *Aen.* 3.289, 5.136).

460 Ampycides: i.e. Mopsus (see 372n.). **nec uisum uertere terrae:** not turning their gaze back to the land of Cyzicus is presumably part of the purification ritual and helps the Argonauts to overcome the recollection of their deeds there.

461 exciderint: a change of construction from *imperial* + infinitive to *imperial* + dependent jussive subjunctive (*OLD impero* 4; for a similar variation cf. 6.16–17 *edocet, affari Minyas fraudemque tyranni | ut moneant*). The perfect subjunctive indicates a completed action, i.e. that getting rid of these memories should have been completed immediately (see also Merone

actions of throwing items into the water and turning away one's face cf. Hom. *Il.* 1.313–16, Virg. *Ecl.* 8.101–2, *Aen.* 6.222–4 *pars ingenti subiere feretro, | triste ministerium, et subiectam more parentum | auersi tenere facem*, Claud. *Cons. Hon. VI* 329–30; see Rohde 1925: 298 and n. 104 (pp. 325–6). For *iacere* with the direction indicated by the dative cf. Prop. 3.13.17 *ubi mortifero iacta est fax ultima lecto* (on the local dative in poetry see 194n.). **lustramina**: most likely the sacrificial flesh with which the arms and clothes of the Argonauts have been touched to achieve purification (on the word see 409n.).

443 rapidis... flammis: cf. 5.33 *rapidae... faces*, Virg. *G.* 4.263 *rapidus... ignis*.

444 quin etiam marks a further stage of the ritual (444–58): placating the shades of the dead and turning their anger away from their killers (cf. 406–8).

444–5 truncas nemorum... |... arma: for the ritual use of wooden images of armed warriors after a battle cf. Virg. *Aen.* 11.83–4 *indutosque iubet truncos hostilibus armis | ipsos ferre duces inimicaeque nomina figi*. It is not immediately clear whether the effigies of warriors in VF represent the Argonauts (thus Mozley, Thuile 1980: 102, Fuà 2003: 104, Stover 2012b: 175, Walter 2014: 47) or the killed fighters from Cyzicus. Mopsus' subsequent speech (448–55) shows that these creations are meant to be representations of those killed: their emotions are to be transferred to the artificial figures, which will give peace to the victims and remove the threat of persecution and revenge for the Argonauts. In AR the Argonauts fashion a wooden image of Cybele out of a local tree as part of the propitiation ceremonies (1.1117–20). **truncas nemorum effigiesque uirorum** |... **quercus** 'oak-trees stripped of their foliage, i.e. images of men'. The genitive *nemorum* (*OLD* 3 '(poet.) bushy foliage') depends on *truncas* (*OLD* 1b '(of a tree) trimmed of its branches'; cf. Ov. *Pont.* 3.4.104 *stentique super uinclos trunca tropaea uiros*, Juv. 10.133–4 *bellorum exuuias, truncis affixa tropaeis | lorica*), which goes with *quercus*. In hyperbaton these words frame *effigiesque uirorum*, which is epexegetic and describes what these wooden pieces represent (on epexegetic see 381–2n.). In view of VF's condensed style, changes to the text seem unnecessary (e.g. Shackleton Bailey 1977: 205: *numero effigieque uirorum*, i.e. 'the trunks corresponded in number and appearance to the slain men'). **simulataque subligat arma**: fake weapons (cf. Stat. *Theb.* 11.477 *arma etiam simulata gerens*) are fastened to the wooden images to make them resemble warriors (cf. Stat. *Theb.* 2.711–12 *huic (i.e. quercui) truncos ictibus enses | subligat*).

446–7 huc... |... curas: anger, threats and concerns of the dead victims are to be transferred to these replacement characters. This procedure

does not remove the cause of such feelings but frees the people killed from them and ensures that the Argonauts no longer need to be afraid of persecution. While in his speech Mopsus mentions only the pangs of conscience for those who have killed unwillingly (393–4), it is now presupposed that those people too may have to fear acts of revenge from the victims. Their souls are not paired with an Erinys (cf. 384–90), but, as suggested in Celaeneus' ritual (408), they are upset and can still pose a threat to the living. **Stygias... minas** 'Stygian threats', i.e. 'threats from souls in the underworld (at the river Styx)'. **iramque seueri | sanguinis**: *ira* is one of the emotions singled out as remaining after death in Mopsus' exposition (384); *seueri* is a transferred epithet and qualifies *ira*. *sanguinis* ('bloodshed'; *OLD* 2b) gives the cause (objective genitive). **uigiles** 'alert', 'vigilant' (*OLD* 2).

448 lustrifico 'purificatory, lustral' (*OLD*), only attested here (like *lustramina*, 409, 442), a compound adjective derived from *lustrum* and *facere*. **uocat** introduces the report of Mopsus' magical incantation in direct speech; it elaborates on the key idea summarized in indirect speech (446–7). **ite**: *simplex pro composito*: i.e. *abile*. This address to the dead may recall the formula spoken by the *pater familias* at the end of the Lemuria (see 377–416n.), when he tells the ghosts to leave (Ov. *Fast.* 5.443 *manes exile paterni*).

449 abolete 'banish (remembering minds)', i.e. 'forget' (*OLD* 2). **animos**: this early correction in a single manuscript of the otherwise transmitted *animas* is the most plausible reading (*OLD animus* 5c): the dead are to get rid of 'remembering minds' (and thus refrain from pursuing the matter).

450 sit Stygiae iam sedis amor: the souls of the dead are to be satisfied with remaining in the underworld (instead of returning to earth to take revenge).

450–1 procul... |... bellis: the shades are asked emphatically (with ritual repetition) to stay away from the Argonauts (for *agmen* cf. 434), the sea and all wars (cf. Virg. *Aen.* 6.258–9 *'procul o, procul este, profani', | conclamat uales, | totoque absistite luco; | ...*): travelling over the sea and fighting are the two major activities of the Argonauts according to Jupiter's plan of the world (1.544–6).

452 nec Graias umquam contendere ad urbes: in an emphatic second step (underlined by the fronted pronouns *uos ego*) Mopsus makes an appeal to the shades never to attempt to direct their way towards Greece and to wreak havoc there. This links the events on Cyzicus to the anticipated clash

1957: 86-8, who, however, assumes an archaic use of the subjunctive with present or future meaning). For the meaning of the verb cf. e.g. Stat. *Silu.* 5.2.88-9 *excidat illa dies aeterno nec postera credant | saecula. quae gesta manu, quae debita fatis*: at the end of the episode, these two items (joined by the emphatic repetition of the relative pronoun) summarize the crucial issue: the Argonauts have committed a terrible deed, and this was determined by fate (for *debita fatis* cf. Virg. *Aen.* 7.120 *fatis mihi debita tellus*, also VF 5.21 *nec debita fata mouebant*). That the statement is given in indirect speech may suggest that the seer Mopsus suspects divine intervention (see Intro. 2.5).

II. INTERLUDE: 'ROWING CONTEST' ON THE OPEN SEA (462-480)

The Argonauts' journey from Cyzicus to Mysia (a region in north-west Asia Minor), linking the two major episodes in book 3 (1-461, 481-740), has the shape of a 'rowing contest', which turns the transitional section into a mini-episode. The passage illustrates vividly the change of mood after the purification and atonement ritual; and because it makes Hercules break his oar, it prompts the Argonauts to land in Mysia to allow him to replace it.

As in the other episodes in this book, the attitude of all Argonauts is portrayed: as a result of the ritual, the Argonauts are relieved and happy (462, 464; see 459-61n.); in this mood they challenge each other (see 470n.). For Hercules, however, these feelings will be short-lived; his great strength leads to misfortune and thus into the next episode. Since the poet does not mention reactions to Hercules' mishap, he avoids an assessment (Spaltenstein 1991: 99 sees Hercules depicted as a grotesque victim of his impulsiveness) and can focus on the consequences for the rowing.

In AR the Argonauts row vigorously after leaving Cyzicus due to 'rivalry': the competition is to see 'who will be the last to stop' and is provoked by a lack of wind. The idea of a contest is not developed, and the Argonauts stop rowing when they are exhausted and a wind arises. With the Argonauts already on course to Mysia, Hercules alone keeps rowing and thus moves the ship forward, when he breaks his oar (1.1153-81). Details of the scene in VF are inspired by the boat race in Virgil's *Aeneid* (5.114-285), part of the celebrations at the anniversary of Anchises' death. Virgil's event is a contest between different ships, but some details, such as the rowers freeing themselves of clothing (470) or supporting their efforts with cries (472-3), occur in both narratives. In Virgil too, the oars of one of the participating ships break, which causes uneven rowing and disaster.

462-3 illi alacres pars ... locant, pars ... | insternunt: the distributive apposition (in the singular) indicates the division into groups, but does not influence the overall construction in the plural (G-L §323). **alacres** marks the change of emotional state and thus of tone. **arma**: probably the Argonauts' shields fitted around the Argo (cf. 1.495-6, 3.28-9) rather than nautical equipment (2.391-2). **pars ... | ... toris** 'some spread the coverings over the lofty decks'. <- >: most manuscripts have a lacuna here; *L'* adds *summīs*, and *C* has *celsis*. That an attribute to *toris* (463) is missing is likely, but which one cannot be determined. **tabulata** 'the boarded deck of a ship' (*OLD* 1b; cf. 8.305 *pedibus pulsant tabulata frementes*) rather than the rowers' benches (called *transtris* in 459). Hence Spaltenstein interprets that the mariners place their bedding (*toris*), which they had taken with them on land, on the deck, whereas other scholars believe that covers were spread on the benches (Langen, Liberman). If *arma* denotes the Argonauts' shields, it is more likely that both parts of the parallel distributive phrases refer to the reloading onto the ship of items that the Argonauts have used on land. If *arma* means nautical equipment, both halves of the clause are likely to refer to preparations for rowing. The former seems more natural, since this is a general description of a nautical departure and Mopsus' order to take their seats (459-60) implies that the benches (*transtris*) are ready to use.

463 oriturque: after the preceding one and a half lines have focused on preparations for departure, the following one and a half lines emphasize the appearance of a happily and quickly moving crew at sea. **tremens**: the oars move quickly (*OLD* 3; on the form see 206n.).

464 laetae concordia uocis: the Argonauts shout for joy in unison as they row, demonstrating their relief (*laetae* ... *uocis* collective singular). Some scholars have referred this description to Orpheus' voice, since he has been introduced as the person who gives the rhythm for the oarsmen by his music (1.186-7, 470-2). However, there is no reason why Orpheus should be particularly glad, and *concordia* suggests a harmony of sounds (*OLD* 3b).

465 ceu: a simile emphasizes the change of the Argonauts' mood by a comparison with a sudden change in the weather. In a similar simile in Homer's *Iliad* the sudden removal of clouds illustrates how the protagonists get some relief and gain breathing space during a battle (16.297-302; see Garson 1969: 364, Fuà 1988: 38). Here the contrast is greater, and the emphasis is on a return to quiet conditions. This simile corresponds to another one at the start of the battle narrative, where the Argonauts are compared to a threatening weather phenomenon (91-4), and thus creates a frame (see Shey 1968: 92).

465 summa Ceraunia ‘the top of the Ceraunian Mountains’ or ‘Acroceraunia’ (cf. AR 4.518–21, 575–6, 1214), a promontory on a mountain ridge in Epirus (lit. ‘mountain of lightning (or: thunderbolts)’; on the name and play with it see O’Hara 1996: 261–2). Reasons for the inclusion of this geographical reference into the simile may be that this place is associated with tempests and that the same mountain (*alla Ceraunia*, with a similar Latin version of the prefix *Acro-*) appears in a description of Jupiter causing a tempest in Virgil’s *Georgics* (1.328–34 *ipse pater media nimborum in nocte corusca | fulmina molitur dextra, quo maxima motu | terra tremil, fugere serae et mortalia corda | per gentis humilis strauit pauor; ille flagranti | aut Atho aut Rhodopen aut alta Ceraunia telo | deicit; ingeminant Austri et densissimus imber; | nunc nemora ingenti uento, nunc litora plangunt*), a passage to which VF seems to refer by a contrasting allusion and of which he has apparently used other elements earlier (1.664–5 *aut Athon aut Rhodopen maestae nemora ardua Pisae | aemulus et miseros ipse ureret Elidis agros*, with Zissos *ad loc.*). Silius Italicus mentions this place in a simile, where he keeps the idea of a tempest rather than focusing on the subsequent clearing up (5.384–8).

466 iugis: an ablative of separation without preposition after a verb of removing (G–L §390).

467 nitidusque reducitur aether ‘the bright sky is brought back’ (cf., after an actual tempest, Virg. *Aen.* 1.143 *collectasque fugat nubes solemque reducit*). The line is almost entirely dactylic, which may illustrate the swift return of light (Garson 1970: 184–5).

468 animi ‘courage, spirit, morale’ (*OLD* 13b). **magister** ‘helmsman’ (see 108–10n.), i.e. Tiphys.

469 nutat ... obsistere tendit: the transmitted text (often emended) must mean that the men row so vigorously that the helmsman, sitting at the ship’s poop (*ab arce ratis*; *OLD arx* 7b), is set in motion and his (upper) body moves forwards and backwards (*nutat*), while he makes an attempt (*tendit*) to put up resistance (*obsistere*; *OLD* 2) to the force of the movement of the oars. The Argonauts now row so eagerly that even the helmsman is affected (*iamque ipse magister*).

470 instaurant: lit. ‘they renew’, ‘resume’ (*OLD* 2): this verb emphasizes that the Argonauts can now again row with full energy and does not imply an earlier contest. **certamina**: the Argonauts’ high spirits translate into a ‘rowing contest’. This cannot be a contest in the strict sense, since the ship would not move forward in a straight line if one of the oarsmen rowed more vigorously than the others. Therefore the idea probably is that all men row more energetically (cf. AR 1.1153–8). Still, two Argonauts start this activity, and they challenge each other to put in extra effort, so that

there are elements of a contest. **liber amictu**: that the Argonauts free themselves of their clothing (cf. Virg. *Aen.* 5.134–5 (before the rowing contest) *cetera populea uelatur fronde iuuentus | nudatosque umeros oleo perfusa nitescit*) assimilates this ‘contest’ to an athletic competition.

471 Eurytus et ... Idas: these two Argonauts start the contest (on Eurytus cf. 1.438–9, with Zissos *ad loc.*, 3.99, 6.569; on Idas cf. 1.460–1, with Zissos *ad loc.*). According to the catalogue, Idas sits at the very back of the row of oarsmen and therefore has a shorter oar. This may explain why Talaus is said to have taunted him, though this has not terrified him (Idas and Talaus are mentioned in the description of the Argo’s approach to Lemnos at Stat. *Theb.* 5.405–9). Elsewhere too (in contrast to AR) Idas is presented as courageous: he is among those who volunteer to fight Amycus (4.222–5); characterized as *audax*, he criticizes accepting the help of a maiden (7.574–6); and Jason mentions him, along with Telamon, Canthus and Hercules, as examples of valiant Argonauts (1.165–7). It might be expected that the two Argonauts starting the contest are placed in different rows of oarsmen; however, this is not the case according to the places assigned to them in the catalogue (see also 480n.). **Talai**: the Argonaut Talaus (cf. 1.358, with Zissos *ad loc.*, 5.366, 6.720) is involved in starting the ‘contest’ and will be among those on whom Hercules will fall (478).

472 inde ... tollunt: one of only seven verses in VF containing three elisions (Kösters 1893: 30), the highest number occurring in VF (see Intro. 2.7). Maybe this illustrates the effort of forceful rowing. **increpitan** ‘they make a loud noise’ (*OLD* 2), looking forward to *gemitu* (473). **aequora ... tollunt** underscores the Argonauts’ energetic rowing: they even ‘lift’ the sea water. The wording may be inspired by a line in Virgil, where, however, the wind ‘lifts’ the water (*Aen.* 1.103 *fluctusque ad sidera tollit*). **pectore**: lit. ‘with the chest’, i.e. ‘with effort’: the chests are singled out as *pars pro toto*, since one moves the oar towards one’s chest (cf. 1.369–70 *tum ualida Clymenus percusso pectore tonsa | frater et Iphiclus puppem trahit*, Sil. 11.489 *adductis percussa ad pectora tonsis*).

473 par gemitu pulsque labor: the men place equal effort in the groaning and the rowing (supply *est*). *gemitu pulsque* are probably ablatives of respect. **gemitu** does not imply the expression of sorrow; instead, it expresses groaning when making an effort to assist one’s bodily exertion (cf., with different wording, Virg. *Aen.* 5.140–1 *ferit aethera clamor | nauticus, adductis spumant freta uersa lacertis*; cf. Cic. *Tusc.* 2.56). **pulsque** ‘striking of oars’ (*OLD* 1c; cf. 5.184, Cic. *De or.* 1.153).

473–4 uersumque ... | ... mare ‘the sea, churned by the oar in turns, is sent to the stern’: a vivid expression illustrating how the sea water is

The story of Hylas was popular in antiquity: Virgil alludes to it as hackneyed (G. 3.6 *cui non dictus Hylas puer*; cf. also Mart. 10.4.3 *quid tibi raptus Hylas*). Longer versions are extant in Apollonius Rhodius (1.1172-357), Theocritus (*Id.* 13), Propertius (1.20.17-50) and *AO* (639-57; cf. also Hyg. *Fab.* 14.25, Ant. Lib. *Met.* 26).

The basic sequence, namely that during the Argonauts' stopover in Mysia Hylas gets drawn into a pool by a nymph and the Argonauts continue their journey without Hylas and Hercules, is substantially the same in the ancient sources. However, according to almost all other writers, Hylas, while fetching water, is snatched away by a nymph, who has fallen in love with the handsome boy (cf. AR 1.1207-39, Theoc. *Id.* 13.36-9, Σ Theoc. *Id.* 13.36, 46, Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.9.19, Strab. 12.4.3, Σ Ar. *Phut.* 1127, Ant. Lib. *Met.* 26 (cf. Nic. *Hel.* f 48 GS), Prop. 1.20.23-48, Juv. 1.164, Stat. *Silu.* 3.4.42-3, Σ Stat. *Theb.* 5.443, *Myth. Vat.* 1.49, 2.227, Serv. ad Virg. G. 3.6, Prob. ad Virg. G. 3.6, Drac. *Hylas* (see Weber 1995); at Diod. Sic. 4.44.5 Hercules is getting water), besides attempts at rationalising the story (Σ AR 1.1207 b). In *AO* Hylas gets lost while trying to follow Hercules, who goes hunting to obtain food for his companions, and thus arrives at the cave of the nymphs (639-48). Zenobius reports a variant according to which Hylas was sent hunting (6.21).

VF's version exhibits significant variations (for differences between AR and VF see Garson 1963: 260-1, Shey 1968: 96-7, Mauerhofer 2004: 279-89, Murgatroyd on 4.1-81; for a comparison with Propertius see Mauerhofer 2004: 290-3): Hylas accompanies Hercules in his search for a new oar; an intervention of the goddess Juno prompts him to leave Hercules and go hunting; Juno rouses up a stag leading Hylas to a pool and entices a nymph to catch him by praising his attractiveness. A scholion to Theocritus reports that in some accounts Hercules was abandoned in Mysia 'because of the will of Hera' (Σ Theoc. *Id.* 13.75), but no traces of such versions remain elsewhere (see also 1.218-20 with 521-64n.). The elimination of Hylas' trip to fetch water means that Hercules and Hylas are affected when together in the woods; this emphasizes their subsequent separation and contributes to the narrative coherence (see Adamietz 1976a: 49-50, Weber 1995: 57). The exclusion of Polyphemus, who, in AR, informs Hercules that Hylas has disappeared at the spring (1.1240-62; cf. also Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.9.19, Zen. 6.21, *AO* 654-6, Ant. Lib. *Met.* 26, with a slightly different role of Polyphemus), gives Hercules' helplessness greater impact because of the uncertainty and places the narrative focus on his psychological development (see Garson 1963: 262-3, Adamietz 1976a: 50, Kleywegt 1991: 227). Hence the Hylas episode is more than a pleasant assemblage of conventional motifs (thus Spaltenstein 1991: 91).

Although modern scholarship refers to this section as the 'Hylas episode', its most prominent character is Hercules (see esp. Adamietz 1970; see Intro. 3.1, 3.3): the events are caused by Juno's hatred of Hercules, and his loss will have consequences for the Argonautic enterprise (contrast Propertius; see Diller 1975: 427). Hylas is rather a victim in Juno's scheme against Hercules, just as the people of Cyzicus in that of Cybele against the king. Hercules and Hylas in VF are characterized as a pair of lovers (like Virgil's Nisus and Euryalus): Hylas is presented as young and attractive, beloved by Hercules (1.218-19, 3.571, 573, 736, 4.2, 36-7), in line with earlier depictions (cf. Theoc. *Id.* 13, Σ Ar. *Phut.* 1127, Σ AR 1.1207 b), though Hylas appears like a young man making his first attempts at fighting and hunting rather than a mere boy (see La Penna 2000: 181, Landolfi 2002). At the same time Hercules and Hylas are referred to with terminology indicating a relationship between father and son (3.486, 565, 4.25), resembling Virgil's Aeneas and Ascanius. Points that could interfere with such a harmonious portrait, such as the detail that Hercules killed Hylas' father (AR 1.1212-19), have been left out (on Hercules and Hylas see Korn on 4.2, Hershkovitz 1998a: 146-59 *passim*, Mauerhofer 2004: 209-10, Murgatroyd on 4.2). Hercules' reaction to the loss of his dear companion is also comparable to Achilles' grief after Patroclus' death in Homer's *Iliad* (18.1-35; see Happle 1957: 195-6).

The absence of Hercules and Hylas motivates the second part of the episode, which includes another divine intervention, when Juno creates good sailing conditions. The Argonauts do not know what has happened to Hercules and Hylas or what their destined future is, since there is no Polyphemus overhearing Hylas' disappearance or an intervention of the sea-god Glaucus as in AR (1.1240-60, 1310-25). Since they realize before their departure that Hercules and Hylas are missing (contrast AR 1.1273-83), they are forced to make a decision. In other versions the Argonauts learn about Hercules' fate at a different time (AR 1.1273-325), Hercules gets to Colchis and returns from there (Theoc. *Id.* 13.73-5, Ant. Lib. *Met.* 26, Dionysius Scytobrachion, *FGrH* / *BNJ* 32 f 6, Demaratus, *FGrH* / *BNJ* 42 f 2, Diod. Sic. 4.44, 49), is not part of the expedition (Herodorus, *FGrH* / *BNJ* 31 f 41) or is abandoned elsewhere (Pherecydes, *FGrH* / *BNJ* 3 f 111, Hdt. 7.193; on the variants see Diller 1975, Zissos on 1.107-20).

VF adds a long section in which the Argonauts discuss their options and eventually set off (598-725). This is a dynamic study in 'crowd behaviour' (cf. 1.71-3, 5.265-71); it describes the position, feelings and pressures of the leader Jason and illustrates the impact of the workings of fate on humans. It turns out that what has been engineered by Juno's intervention has been vaguely predicted by an oracle to Jason (617-22) and is fated (717); as in the Cyzicus episode, the result of an intervention by an

individual god for personal reasons is later shown to agree with the predetermined framework. Still, humans are not aware of these connections, and even if they have received prophecies, these are vague. Therefore the Argonauts have to go through agonizing processes of making decisions only to agree on steps that are fated. This may be a comment on the Stoic concept of the relationship between human actions and predetermined developments. The portrayal of a discussion among leading figures might also be an implicit allusion to power struggles among the aristocracy in Rome, who tended to emphasize their weight after their influence diminished in the imperial period (on this aspect, with reference to further scenes, see Zissos 2003).

VF's remodelling of the Hylas episode is indebted to Virgil's *Aeneid*. The fateful hunt of a divinely directed animal by a young boy accompanying a father figure recalls Ascanius' hunting the stag, which leads to the war in Latium (7.475–539). Juno's persecution of Hercules is modelled on her persecution of Aeneas (see e.g. Garson 1963: 266–7, Feeney 1991: 160–2, Schubert 1991, Hershkowitz 1998a: 159–72, Lovatt 2013: 59–61); in both cases a young boy is an instrument in the divine intrigue. Juno's three speeches in the Hylas episode correspond to similar speeches by Virgil's Juno with respect to the Trojans (4.90–104, 1.37–49 / 7.293–322, 1.65–75; see 509–20n.; cf. e.g. Shey 1968: 93–4, Adamietz 1976a: 48–9, Hardie 1989: 5–9, Steinkühler 1989: 379–86, Zissos on 1.111–19). Hercules' situation after Hylas' disappearance resembles that of Aeneas when he loses Creusa upon leaving Troy (Virg. *Aen.* 2.730–95): in both cases two individuals close to each other become separated; one of them returns and desperately searches for the other until the latter appears in a new incarnation and reassures the other. The episode's second half recalls Aeneas' situation, when, in doubt about the continuation of his mission after some of the ships have been burned, he receives advice from Nautes, who knows about fates; his advice is confirmed by an appearance of Aeneas' father Anchises, and this enables Aeneas both to continue his fated enterprise and to find a solution for those weary of the journey by leaving them behind (5.700–78). The discussion about departure recalls the rhetorical agon of Turnus and Drances (11.336–446), which, however, does not affect the course of events (see 637–89n.).

Additionally, VF's narrative of the Hylas story shows connections with Propertius' version (1.20.17–50) as well as with the tales of Narcissus and Echo and of Salmacis and Hermaphroditus in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (3.339–510, 4.285–388). Moreover, when Hylas becomes a kind of demi-god (4.27–9), he has undergone an almost Ovidian metamorphosis in a predominantly Virgilian epic. Thereby generic boundaries and the influx of erotic (and tragic) elements into a martial epic are explored, an issue recurring with reference to Medea (see Feeney

1991: 320–8, Barchiesi 2001b: 326–32, Stover 2003). This creates a generic tension between elegiac elements, such as the love of two young people by a pool, and epic elements, such as war and hunt; this is often indicated by Virgilian, epic motifs employed in more elegiac contexts (see Heerink 2007, 2015). It has been suggested that the episode of Salmacis and Hermaphroditus is again used as a foil for the encounter between Jason and Medea (see Stover 2003: esp. 127–9), but in this case the analogy is less direct. There could also be a tragic element since Ovid alludes to the Hylas story as the subject matter of tragedies (*Tr.* 2.381–408).

Bibliography (in addition to commentaries and annotated translations): Harmand 1898: 46–9, Koch 1955: 118–56, Happle 1957: 135–211, Garson 1963, Piot 1965: 352–8 (on Hercules), Shey 1968: 93–105, Adamietz 1970 (on Hercules), 1976a: 47–52, Lüthje 1971: 114–26, Shelton 1971: 149–70, Traglia 1983: 308–15, Schenk 1986 (on the Argonauts' debate), Eigler 1988: 39–47 (on Juno's monologue), Hardie 1989: 5–9, Schubert 1991: esp. 130–1 (on Juno), Murgatroyd 1992 (on setting), Malamud and McGuire 1993, Weber 1995: 56–9, Scaffai 1997: 53–8 (on the role of scholia and models), Hershkowitz 1998a: 146–59 (on Hercules), Ripoll 1998: 88–112 (on Hercules), Edwards 1999 (on Hercules), La Penna 2000, Landolfi 2002, Pellucchi 2002 (on similes), Groß 2003: 227–30 (on Juno), Delarue 2004: 84–6 (on Juno and Hercules), Mauerhofer 2004: 163–296, English Monaghan 2005 (on Juno), Heerink 2007, 2010, 2015, MacIntyre 2008: 102–10 (on the role of landscape). On the episode in AR see e.g. Köhnken 1965: 17–83 (in comparison with Theocritus), Fuchs 1969 (in comparison with Theocritus), Levin 1971: 110–28 (on structure), Clauss 1993: 176–211 (on models, narrative structure and characterization), Knight 1995: 128–31 (on the relationship to Homer).

A. *The Argonauts' landing in Mysia (481–486)*

As a result of Hercules' breaking his oar at the end of the 'rowing contest' (462–80), the *Argo* moves more slowly (483); therefore the helmsman Tiphys decides to land at the nearest shore, in Mysia (484), in the middle of the day (481–2): without Hercules as a rower the Argonauts are unable to complete a full day's travel (although later they can travel on to Colchis). In AR they continue their journey until the evening, when they come to Mysia (1.1172–8). In VF, as soon as the Argonauts have landed, Hercules leaves for the woods (485); a hospitable welcome by the Mysians (AR 1.1179–85) is omitted. In contrast to AR (1.1187–206), a reason for Hercules' departure is not stated; that he intends to get a new oar is implied (483–5). In Virgil's *Aeneid* the Trojans approach a shore to repair their battered ships with wood from local forests (1.551–2). Unlike in

other versions, in VF Hercules is accompanied by Hylas (486), his loyal friend (cf. 1.107-11).

481-2 iam ... | ... umbras: the elaborate indication of time underlines the unconventional arrival time in the middle of the day. As a result of this timing Hylas' loss can be noticed towards the end of the day, and references to the oncoming night may be exploited to heighten Hercules' distress (575-6) and the Argonauts' concern (603). On the indications of time see Gärtner 1998: 210-11. **iam:** see 1-2n. **summas ... arcēs:** i.e. the zenith, the highest point in the sun's course across the sky (*OLD arx* 6). **Phoebus:** i.e. 'the Sun' (see 437n.). **candentior:** the sun is brighter (comparative) when it has reached its top position at midday than during the approach. **uicerat ... reuocauerat:** the pluperfects do not imply that midday is already past, but rather indicate that the process of reaching the mid-point has been completed. **longas medius reuocauerat umbras** 'in the middle, it had called back (= shortened) the long shadows'. For indications of midday with reference to the sun in the 'middle' cf. 559 *medii transit rota candida Phoebi*, 2.444 *sol aetherias medius consenderat arcēs*, Virg. *G.* 4.426-7, *Aen.* 8.97, Ov. *Mel.* 3.144-5, Sen. *Apocol.* 2.3, 4.

483-4 quae proxima ... | ... montes: two relative clauses with the antecedents included in the clauses: i.e. *litora quae proxima (sunt) et montes quos dabat densa trabe Mysia* (cf. Virg. *Aen.* 1.157-8 *defessi Aeneadae quae proxima litora cursu | contendunt petere, et Libyae uertuntur ad oras*). **Tiphys:** the helmsman Tiphys (see 2n.), who represents the ship, is again responsible for the Argo's landing in a country where the Argonauts will experience misfortune. In contrast to the Cyzicus episode (32-42) Tiphys directs the landing fully aware, but he cannot foresee the consequences. **densa trabe ... montes:** lit. 'mountains with closely packed tree trunks' (singular for plural), i.e. 'mountains with dense wood'. **Mysia:** a region in north-west Asia Minor, east of Phrygia, on the south coast of the Propontis (part of modern Turkey).

485 petit excelsas ... ornos: straight after the landing Hercules makes for ash trees (cf. also with Hercules as subject, Virg. *Aen.* 8.221 *aerū cursu petit ardua montis*). AR's Hercules chooses a 'silver fir' (1.1190-3, 1263), a tree typically used for oars; the word appears metaphorically for 'oar' (LSJ ἑλάτη 1, ii; cf. Hom. *Il.* 7.5, *Od.* 12.172). Statius implies that a variety of woods is suitable for oars (*Ach.* 1.428-9 *caeduntur robora classi, | silua minor remis*). That Hercules looks for ash trees in VF could be an allusion to the lance of Achilles, made of ash trees from Pelion and so heavy that nobody else can handle it (c.g. Hom. *Il.* 16.140-4, 22.131-4, Ov. *Her.* 3.125-6).

Mel. 13.108-9, Auson. *Epist.* (27) 23.27-8); this would stress the extraordinary strength of Hercules, whose club is too heavy for Hylas (1.110-11). Equally, Hercules may be associated with the strong Orion, who is described as carrying off an aged ash tree from the mountains in Virgil's *Aeneid* (10.763-7). Wood from ash trees was often used for the shafts of spears and lances. *excelsas* could mean 'located on high' or 'tall' (*OLD* 1a, b). Since Hercules is later said to have thrust down the tree from the hilltops (565-6) and the woods are introduced as located on mountains (484), the first notion is dominant, especially since ash trees are often envisaged as growing on mountains (cf. Virg. *Ecl.* 6.71; *G.* 2.111, *Aen.* 2.626, 4.491, 6.182, 10.766). If the second notion is also present, it may suggest that Hercules goes for an especially large oar. AR's Hercules selects a particularly tall and thick tree for the new oar (1.1190-3). Ash trees can be tall, but this quality applies rather to a different variety (*fraxinus* in Latin), though poetic usage does not necessarily observe such distinctions. **Tirynthius:** i.e. Hercules (see 133-4n.).

486 haeret Hylas ... iniquos: in VF Hercules is accompanied by Hylas (see 481-740n.). They form a pair, just as at their first appearance, when Hylas was introduced as Hercules' companion, but no match for him in size or strength (1.107-11). Such a description of the relationship between Hercules and Hylas appears in similar form in Statius' *Thebaid* (5.441-4 *audet iter magnique sequens uestigia mulat | Hercules et tarda quamuis se mole ferentem | uix cursu tener aequat Hylas Lernaeaque tollens | arma sub ingenti gaudet sudare pharetra*) and may be inspired by Virgil's portrait of Aeneas and young Ascanius (*Aen.* 2.723-4 *dextrae se paruus Iulus | implicuit sequiturque patrem non passibus aequis*). For the wording cf. also 8.55 *ille haeret comes*, Virg. *Aen.* 4.73, 10.161, Sil. 4.30-1, Dracontius, *Hylas* 94-5 (on Hylas and Hercules) *Tirynthius ibat | uictor ouans, cui iunctus Hylas pulcherrimus haeret*.

B. Juno's plans and emotions (487-520)

With the insertion of a novel divine scene (see 481-740n., Intro. 3.1), the plot develops on two levels (see Murgatroyd 1992: 87). Juno spots a chance to harm her enemy Hercules when she sees him disembarking from the Argo (487-8). This motivation and her subsequent monologue (509-20) recall her earlier monologue on Hercules, when Hylas and Hercules join the enterprise (1.107-19). Juno first removes Pallas (i.e. Athena/Minerva) (489-508) and then voices her thoughts and feelings in an emotional outburst (509-20). As with Cybele (27-9), the Argonauts' voyage offers the goddess an opportunity to realize long-standing intentions.

In VF Juno has an ambiguous position, since she supports Jason's endeavour (cf. Hom. *Od.* 12.72) but opposes Hercules. The tension seems temporarily resolved when Hercules leaves the ship and can thus be attacked separately. In the long term these aims cannot be reconciled: Hercules' loss will be a disadvantage to the Argonauts (712-14 with nn.), and Juno knows that she will have to make up for this interference (cf. 4.7-12).

By portraying her as an antagonist, the poet endows his Juno with traits of her Virgilian predecessor, who is hostile to Aeneas' mission. The main elements of Juno's procedure in VF (approaching another god deceitfully for assistance with her plans and delivering a powerful soliloquy) have precedents in Virgil's *Aeneid* (4.90-128, 1.36-49 / 7.292-322; see 481-740, 506-8, 508, 509-20nn.). In VF Juno does not ask for help for the task at hand but rather intends to remove her interlocutor; what she requests from Pallas might make up for Hercules' loss (see 487-508n.). This twist to Juno's activities is the result of the fact that she collaborates with Pallas in supporting the Argonauts, while she opposes Hercules in contrast to Pallas (on Juno's intrigue see Mauerhofer 2004: 166-79; on Juno in VF see Schubert 1991; on the Argonauts' divine supporters see Zissos on 1.91-106).

1. Preparations: Juno's removal of Pallas (487-508)

Juno prepares the ground by removing Pallas: Pallas may not agree to a procedure harmful to the Argonauts and may wish to assist her 'brother' Hercules (487-91). Elsewhere Pallas is sometimes presented as Hercules' supporter and friend (Roscher 1886-90: 2215-16, 2266); for instance, she provides him with weapons (Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.4.11). The ploy is based on the poetic concept that, to be effective, the goddess must be physically present.

With a feigned purpose Juno sends Pallas off to Colchis and asks her to inform Perses (who is engaged in a civil war against his brother, king Aeetes) that the Argonauts will soon be arriving and he should strike a treaty with them (492-505). This is the first detailed reference to the situation in Colchis in VF's version (see Intro. 2.3, 2.4); there will indeed be fighting in Colchis as envisaged by Jason (82, 617; see Fucecchi 1996: 122-3). When, later on, Juno and Pallas arrive in Colchis along with the Argonauts (5.180-3), they decide, on Juno's suggestion, to have the Argonauts join Aeetes (5.280-95). While the idea of Pallas' mission to Colchis is not pursued in the epic narrative (sometimes regarded as an indication of the poem's unfinished status; see Intro. 2.2), the possibility of an alliance between the Argonauts and Perses is not forgotten: early on in the fighting in Colchis Perses tries to send a message to the Argonauts to ask them to align themselves with him rather than with Aeetes, though

Mars' starting the battle forestalls this (6.14-29); at the end Perses complains that Jupiter's omens promised Aeetes' punishment and that Jupiter was ready to bring the troops of the Argo and align them with him (6.725-39). Hence, in addition to its immediate function, Juno's intrigue may demonstrate that, if the gods had decided to act differently (see Intro. 2.5), there would have been a straightforward way for the Argonauts to win the Golden Fleece and for Perses to gain power (though with significant changes to the traditional myth); according to Jupiter's plans (1.546-8, 6.742-3) both of these events are to happen eventually (for views on Juno's intrigue see Shelton 1971: 151, Adamietz 1976a: 47-8 and n. 33, Ferenczi 1995: 152, Schenk 1998: 242; but Steinkühler 1989: 318 regards it almost as a poetic ornament).

In this scene Pallas is not particularly prominent (see Adamietz 1976a: 48, also Steinkühler 1989: 405; on the relationship between Juno and Pallas see Schenk 1998: esp. 240-3). When she recognizes Juno's deception but agrees nevertheless (506-8), her reaction has parallels in Jason's response to Pelias' deceitfully sending him on the journey (1.64-90) and in Venus' agreeing to Juno's plans in Virgil's *Aeneid* (4.90-128; see 508n.). The motif that Juno (Hera) turns to Pallas (Athene) for assistance goes back to Homer's *Iliad*; but when, for instance, Hera asks Athene to prevent the Greeks from leaving without having regained Helen, and Athene obeys (2.156-66), there is no element of deceit, and this agrees with Athene's own intentions (see Schenk 1998: 242). In VF even gods who have the same long-term interests may confront each other, pursue personal goals egotistically and employ trickery (see also Schenk 1998: 248).

487 illum (in the singular) refers back to one of the two men named in the preceding lines. *ille* normally takes up the former (i.e. Hercules) of two items: Hercules is the object of Juno's plans, and on his account Pallas has to be removed. However, at their first appearance Hercules and Hylas are referred to in the same order, and the subsequent *ille* refers to the last-mentioned Hylas (1.107-11). **Juno:** the name indicates the transition to the divine realm. The final -o (*Iunō*) is shortened for metrical reasons (see also 665; see 587-9n.). **poli summo de uertice** recalls Jupiter's position at Virg. *Aen.* 1.223-5 *Iuppiter aethere summo | despiciens mare uelut uolum . . . | . . . uertice caeli*, prior to his conversation with Venus about the future of Aeneas and Rome. Equally, Hercules' departure from the Argonauts will affect the development of the events in Colchis and thus the course of world history as outlined by VF's Jupiter (1.531-60).

487-8 puppem | deseruisse uidet: the opponent's leaving the ship also provokes Juno with reference to Aeneas (Virg. *Aen.* 7.290-1 *moliri iam tecta uidet, iam fidere terrae, | deseruisse rates: stetit acri fixa dolore*).

488 tempus rata diua nocendi: like Cybele in the Cyzicus episode (27–9). Juno sees the Argo from an elevated place and recognizes a good opportunity for revenge (cf. 1.575, Virg. *Aen.* 7.511–12, 12.134–6; see 487–520n., Intro. 3.1). The motif of Juno's taking action after observing events has precedents in Virgil's *Aeneid* (7.288–9, 12.134–6). A close verbal parallel is Virg. *Aen.* 7.511 *saeua e speculis tempus dea nacta nocendi*, where Allecto, instigated by Juno, is about to set in motion the second step towards war in Latium (see also 521–64n.).

489 Pallada: Pallas is VF's name for Athena/Minerva (on this goddess in VF see Schenk 1998). **consortem:** both goddesses, Juno and Pallas, support the Argonauts (cf. 1.79–99, 529–30, 4.682–5, 5.180–3, 280–95). **curis:** with *consortem*, indicating what the goddesses share (dative with *TLL* IV, 847.27–8 rather than ablative with *OLD* *consors* 2a). **curusque regentem:** Pallas is said to direct the course of the Argo because she was responsible for building the ship (1.92–5) and supports the helmsman Tiphys (e.g. 2.48–65).

490 inde: i.e. 'from the direction of Pallas'. **inceptis** 'Juno's' plans' (cf. Virg. *Aen.* 1.37 *incepto*, in Juno's monologue recalled in this passage; see 509–20n.). **fieret mora:** cf. Virg. *Aen.* 3.473 *fieret uento mora ne qua ferenti*. **prima** at the end of the line emphasizes that Juno starts realizing her plans by removing Pallas. *prima* must be understood as an adjective used adverbially (in the sense of *primum* 'first' in a series of actions; cf. 501). This raises the expectation of a continuation (see 25–11, 7.610–12), which Ehlers (in app.) sees in *tum* (492). Spaltenstein notes that this word virtually refers to the same point in time: the main steps are that Juno first removes Pallas and then proceeds to harm Hercules. But there is a little progress between *prima* and *tum* since Juno focuses on deceiving Pallas and then starts to carry out the plans. Watt (1984: 165; *contra* Liberman) argues that Juno's speech is 'not the next action in the series but the means by which Juno tries to deceive Pallas' and therefore suggests reading *dum* instead of *tum* (492); this does not address the issue of how the series suggested by *prima* is continued. Heinsius' emendation *primam* (meaning 'first' or 'Pallas as the first') does not solve the problem: although Juno continues with a ruse against Hercules, this is not another deception like that of Pallas. The sequence of creating a plan and then realizing it remains the most plausible explanation.

491 caroque ... auertere fratri: Hercules is a 'brother' of Pallas (cf. Sen. *HO* 13.14–16) since they are both children of Jupiter, and he therefore may be 'dear' (*carus* used like Greek φίλος) to her (see also 487–508n.). Juno describes Pallas' possible feelings from her point of view; there is no

comment on Pallas' actual emotions. For Juno Hercules is the illegitimate offspring of her husband. **dolis** emphasizes again (cf. 490 *fallere*) that Juno will employ deceit to remove Pallas, as she does with reference to Venus in Virgil's *Aeneid* (4.128 *dolis*; see 506–8 with n.).

492–3 procerum ui ... | ... Perses: Juno starts with a sketch of the situation in Colchis (492–500) while the personal name locating the description is withheld until the end of the second line. Since Aeetes' brother Perses plays an important role only in VF's version, this introduction of this figure is extraordinary (see also 487–508n.). Because this innovation is first mentioned in Juno's speech, English Monaghan (2005) suggests that Juno is presented 'as a surrogate poet'; but Juno is never characterized as a poet-like figure. When the situation of the two brothers Perses and Aeetes is sketched just prior to the Argonauts' arrival in Colchis (5.265–75), the focus is different: there is no explicit reference to *procerum ui pulsus iniqua*, although 'leading men' on Aeetes' side are involved in the struggle (5.269), and Perses is fleeing, bearing marks of cruelty (5.271–2). This minor discrepancy need not imply that Juno is meant to be seen lying to Pallas. Instead, this version makes the conflict more forceful and unjustified; thus the intervention Juno wishes to provoke appears more urgent. **germanique:** i.e. Aeetes. *germanus* typically denotes siblings who have the same father and the same mother (*OLD*), but Perses is characterized as *frater materno sanguine* at 5.266. The term seems to be used more loosely, indicating that the two men are blood relations; this highlights that the war in Colchis is a family conflict between brothers. **manu:** probably 'troop' (*OLD* 22) rather than 'hand' (*OLD* 8). Then the second element in *procerum ui ... | germanique manu* (492–3) is epexegetic (see 381–2n.). **(repetis quo crimine):** the appeal (in its generally accepted emended form) to Pallas' knowledge (*OLD* *repeto* 6b) implies that Juno does not acquaint Pallas with something entirely new to her. This device saves the poet from giving all details of the prehistory to the situation in Colchis at this point. Logically, if Pallas is meant to be aware of the background, it is not necessary for Juno to outline the present situation to the extent that she does. However, since the conflict in Colchis only occurs in VF, some essential information must be conveyed to readers. This insertion ensures that the exposition put into Juno's mouth does not sound too patronizing. **crimine:** according to the information in book 5 Aeetes feels challenged by Perses, since he assumes that Perses is striving for power when he criticizes him for not handing over the Golden Fleece, as suggested by public omens (5.259–71). The classification as an 'accusation' or 'charge' (*OLD* *crimen* 1) is Juno's assessment (adopting Aeetes' point of view), designed to provoke Pallas' support for Perses (cf. also

492 *iniqua*). Later, too, Aeetes is presented as a ruler who does not care for the welfare and wishes of his people (5.222-3, 263-5), while Perses is concerned for the general wellbeing (5.259-67). **Perses:** half-brother of king Aeetes in Colchis (on the complex family relationships, with different traditions, see Peck 1937).

494 **barbaricas ... opes Hyrcanaeque signa** 'barbarian forces and Hyrcanian troops'. Both *opes* (*OLD ops* 3) and *signa* (*OLD* 11) refer to 'army'; *-que* has epexegetic force (see 381-2n.). Perses is later said to stir up 'the North' (5.271-2 *rapit inde fugam crudelia Perses | signa gerens omnemque qualis rumoribus Arcton*). **barbaricas:** peoples or regions other than those controlled by Greeks and Romans, from a Roman perspective (*OLD* 1a; see 231n. on *barbarus*). **Hyrcanaeque:** Hyrcania is a country at the south-east side of the Caspian Sea, though poets use the term more vaguely for the region (e.g. Virg. *Aen.* 7.603-6, Prop. 2.30.20). Elsewhere it identifies the area from where troops join Perses for the battle in Colchis (6.78, 114).

495-7 **Aeetes contra ... | ... porta:** in response to a prophetic dream (5.238-40) Aeetes has struck an alliance with the Scythians (496) and has promised his daughter Medea in marriage to the Albanian prince Styrrus (495, 497, 5.256-8); his destined son-in-law brings Albanian troops (497). **thalamis et uirgine pacta:** Medea is frequently referred to as *uirgo* (e.g. 5.220, 258); her name only appears from book 5 onwards. Grammatically, *pacta* agrees with *uirgine* as the nearest noun, but also governs *thalamis* (cf. 227); the two nouns form a hendiadys with a combination of abstract (*thalamus* in metonymic sense 'marriage': *OLD* 2b) and concrete. **reges Scythicos:** *Scythia* and *Scythicus* in VF often denote the region of king Aeetes (e.g. 1.43). This is where Perses stirs up war (6.34-5, 728). The precise areas that Aeetes' allies and supporters come from are not defined even when they are introduced before the battle (5.576-614). **primusque:** there is most at stake for Styrrus, the prospective son-in-law. Both in the battle in Colchis and during the pursuit of the Argonauts, when they flee from Colchis with the Golden Fleece and Medea, Styrrus is among the first (6.171-2, 8.298-9). **Albana ... porta:** the Albani are a people in the Caucasian region near the Caspian Sea ('Caucasian Albania'). The phrase 'Albanian gate' is not attested elsewhere in Latin but appears in Ptolemaeus (5.9.15, 9.12.6) and refers to a narrow passage in the Caucasus, whose location has not yet been identified precisely. The 'Albanian gates' may be identical with the 'Caspian gates' (cf. 5.124, 6.106-7), since according to Pliny various names were in use (Plin. *HN* 5.99, 6.30, 40). **Styrrus gener:** Styrrus (cf. 5.257-8, 459-60, 6.41, 171-2, 8.153, 298-300, 328-68) is Aeetes' son-in-law to be; the

characterization as *gener* is proleptic (e.g. 5.459, 6.172). Like Turnus in Virgil's *Aeneid*, Styrrus has been chosen by the bride's father in response to supernatural instructions asking for a 'foreign' son-in-law and, after a lot of fighting, loses his bride to another 'foreigner' (see Fucecchi 2005).

498-9 **bellum ingens:** a separate clause, with *est* to be supplied. Virgil's Jupiter uses the phrase for the war in Latium (*Aen.* 1.263 *bellum ingens geret*). **ipse ... Gradius:** i.e. Mars, identified by a title of his. **citis ... habenis | fundit equos:** there seem to be no parallels for these expressions (*citis ... habenis* and *fundit equos*), perhaps developed from the common *fundere habenas*. In combination, and with *citis* understood as a transferred epithet, they illustrate that the war god moves quickly on his chariot as he gives the horses free rein.

499-500 **uiden ... | ... atro?** This question serves as a transition from the exposition of the situation to Juno's orders. The threatening dark cloud describes an impending fierce battle metaphorically. That this development is due to Mars is suggested by the preceding sentence and confirmed by a similar description of his activities in connection with the battle in Colchis (5.618-19 *ecce autem Geticis ueniens Gradius ab antris | ingentemque trahens Arctoa per aequora nubem*). The transmitted *carcere* (often changed to *cardine*) can stand if understood as a metaphor taken from the racecourse (cf. Strand 1972: 91-2): *carcere* (*OLD* 3a) indicates the starting point from where the cloud emerges. The term may also recall the winds shut in a *carcer* by Aeolus (*OLD* 2a) as in Virgil's *Aeneid* (1.52-4 *hic uasto rex Aeolus antro | luctantis uentos tempestatesque sonoras | imperio premit ac uinclis et carcere frenat*). The movement starts in the north (*Arctoo*), where Perses is said to gather his troops (see 494n.). **aethere ... atro:** Burman's emendation of the transmitted *aequore* gives a more straightforward construction of *pendeo* (*OLD* 8); a cloud 'hanging in the sky' is a natural consequence of a cloud rising. *atro* must be a transferred epithet, describing the cloud, thus leading to a paradoxical expression with *aethere*.

501 **corripe prima uias:** Juno proceeds to giving orders to Pallas (501-5): Pallas is to make her way to Colchis quickly (for the expression cf. 5.327-8) and as the first; the point of comparison could be Juno's own journey or the arrival of the martial forces and the start of the battle. Later, Juno and Pallas finish their travels at the same time as the Argonauts reach Colchis (5.182-3); this need not exclude a previous visit to Colchis by Pallas (see 487-508n.).

501-2 **finem ... | ... urbi:** Perses is expected to cross the river Phasis in Colchis, defined as a border (see 306-7n.), and draw up his troops in front

of Aeetes' city, presumably Cytaea on the river Phasis (cf. AR 2.399–407). This is the situation upon the Argonauts' arrival (5.273).

503 coepta: the Argonauts' voyage rather than Juno's plans. **paulumque** suggests that there will be only a short space of time between Pallas' conveying the message to Perses and the Argonauts' arriving in Colchis (504–5). This prospect is intended to increase the persuasive force of Juno's speech and need not match the sequence of events. **moras et foedera necte:** zeugmatic expression: 'contrive' and 'join' (cf. 374–5 *an sibi nectunt | corda moras*; OLD *necto* 9b). **foedera:** between the Argonauts and Perses.

504 consiliis atque arte tua: hendiadys: i.e. 'crafty advice' or 'counsel artfully given' (for similar, but more obviously negative collocations, cf. Virg. *Aen.* 2.152 *dolis instructus et arte Pelasga*, 2.195 *talibus insidiis periurique arte Sinonis*).

504–5 sponde 'promise solemnly' (OLD 4a). **reges | dis genitos:** the Argonauts are often referred to as *reges* (see 28–9n.), and many are sons of gods (cf. 1.1 *deum magnis ... natis*, with Zissos *ad loc.*, 3.667–9, 4.438, 5.503–4, Stat. *Ach.* 2.77 *semideos reges*; see Dräger 2004). *dis* (= *deis*) is ablative with *genitos*. **quis ... quis:** an anaphoric repetition of the relative pronoun; a shortened form of the dative plural *quibus* (G–L §105 n. 2; see 318n.). **arma ... agmina:** a hendiadys for 'troops in arms', distributed over the two parts of the clause. *uolens* and *iungat* apply to both parts. **uolens:** Perses shall enter the alliance willingly. However, since gods have engineered the sequence, Perses might believe that he acts freely, but actually would do what is predetermined (see 717–18n.).

506–8 at uirgo ... | ... oras: although Pallas realizes that Juno operates a trick, motivated by her anger, she obeys. Such behaviour has a precedent in Virgil's *Aeneid*: when Juno tries to persuade Venus to assist her with tightening the bond between Dido and Aeneas (4.90–128), Venus agrees even though she discerns Juno's real purpose behind her alleged intentions (4.105–6, 127–8). Virgil's Juno does not direct her trickery against a goddess she collaborates with, and she wishes to win her as an ally: hence she reveals what she intends to do, though she is not open about her ultimate aims. Strengthening the bond between Dido and Aeneas (though for different reasons) is not entirely against Venus' intentions (see Virg. *Aen.* 1.657–90); hence it is not a 'deception' of the same kind. In VF Venus sees through Juno's deceit, when she asks her for her girdle to help her kindle Jupiter's love (though actually that of Medea towards Jason); still, Venus agrees since the result ultimately agrees with her own intentions (6.427–76).

506 insidias aestusque 'trickery and passion'. This collocation (cf. Virg. *Aen.* 1.130 *nec latuere doli fratrem Iunonis et irae*) expresses concisely that Juno operates deceit (of Pallas) moved by rage (against Hercules). The variation of the Virgilian precedent justifies *aestus* on its own in this sense (OLD *aestus* 5b). The frequently adopted reading *astusque* looks like a *lectio facilior*. **nouercae:** Juno could be defined as a 'stepmother' with respect to Pallas (who was born from Jupiter's head according to tradition) or to Hercules or to both. The most straightforward interpretation is perhaps the reference to Pallas. However, since Juno's position as 'stepmother' is her standard role with reference to Hercules (e.g. 580, 610, 5.43, Virg. *Aen.* 8.287–9, Ov. *Met.* 9.181, Luc. 4.637–40, Stat. *Ach.* 1.189–90, Sil. 2.475–8; briefly alluded to at AR 1.996–7), the notion of 'stepmother of Hercules' is also implied.

507 sentiat: a subjunctive in a *quamquam*-clause, more frequent in post-classical writers and especially in poetry (also at 5.373, 6.39, 8.205). **blandos quaerentem fingere uultus:** Pallas not only notices Juno's trickery and emotions but also that she tries to hide them by seeking to assume an ingratiating look (OLD *fingo* 4c, *uultus* 1a). When Juno later approaches Venus, it is stressed that Juno hides her true feelings (cf. 6.458–9). Grammatically, *eam* is to be supplied to *quaerentem*, a third object of *sentiat* added by *et*, after *insidias aestusque*.

508 iussas ... oras: *iussas* illustrates the power relation between Juno and Pallas, particularly in contrast to the comparable scene in Virgil's *Aeneid*, where Juno's approach to Venus is described as *petenti* (4.127–8 *non aduersata petenti | adnuat atque dolis risit Cytherea repertis*). **ocius** 'quickly' (comparative used like positive; cf. OLD *ociter* 2b). **oras** 'land' as *pars pro toto* (OLD *ora* 3a).

2. Juno's assessment of the situation (509–520)

Having removed Pallas from the scene (508), Juno launches into an emotional soliloquy, lamenting that her efforts against Hercules have been without effect so far (see Eigler 1988: 39–47, Steinkühler 1989: 352–6). At the end she encourages herself to carry on and to enlist infernal agencies if necessary (519–20). This forceful statement of determination is an appropriate transition to the realization of her plans against Hercules (but Steinkühler 1989: 354 criticizes that Juno only indirectly realizes her announcements).

Since it is part of the Juno sequence, this utterance does not have an equivalent in AR. Within VF, it corresponds to Juno's initial complaint when Hercules joins the expedition (1.111–19). The two speeches in VF recall two soliloquies by Juno about the Trojans in Virgil's *Aeneid* (1.36–49, 7.292–322). The second speech is particularly comparable: Juno speaks

out loud because she is extremely agitated, is annoyed by the lack of previous successes and the repercussions for her standing and encourages herself to attempt further actions (see also 481–740, 487–520nn.).

A further model is Juno in Seneca's *Hercules furens* (esp. 1–124): she contemplates her lack of success against her stepson Hercules and then devises a new plan to harm him by having him fight with himself and making him lose 'sons' (see 511–12n.; see Billerbeck 1986a: 3134). Enraged complaints by Juno about rivals or enemies, leading to concerns about her own position, in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (2.512–30, 3.262–72, 4.422–31) also share some motifs.

509 ingemuit ... rumpit: once Juno is on her own, her feelings, suppressed for the deception (507), come to the fore. The structure (a form of *ingemo* at the start of the line followed by the introduction of an emotional speech) is found elsewhere in VF (2.402, 4.117); however, in those instances both verbs are in the same tense (similarly at Virg. *Aen.* 11.840, Ov. *Met.* 7.517). The change from perfect to present or, in other words, the single perfect in a series of narrative presents is explained by *tandem*: Juno sighs, giving way to her feelings in inarticulate fashion, followed by a pause; therefore the first action is already in the past when the outburst in a proper speech follows.

510 en ... en: the anaphoric interjection (repeated in 514) emphasizes the force of Juno's outburst (followed by a nominative: *OLD en* 2d). Juno's comparable monologues in Virgil's *Aeneid* also start with exclamations, though not marked by *en* (1.37–8, 7.293–4). **labor ... caput:** both terms describe Hercules from Juno's point of view: *caput* often stands as *pars pro toto* for a person (*OLD* 7). *labor*, the standard term for Hercules' labours (e.g. 5.486–8, Sen. *HF* 1316, Stat. *Silu.* 1.2.38–40), is applied to Hercules, suggesting that he and the fight against him are a 'labour' for Juno (cf. Sen. *HF* 40–2 *monstra iam desunt mihi | minorque labor est Herculi iussa exequi, | quam mihi iubere; laetus imperia excipit*).

511–12 quam Nemeen ... | experiar? Alluding to two traditional labours of Hercules by their locations, Juno considers by what other deeds of this type she might try to get rid of him, as she is worn out by her many activities so far (cf. Juno at Virg. *Aen.* 7.297–8): in Seneca's *Hercules furens* Juno complains that Hercules has overcome all challenges successfully and that the only option left is for him to fight with himself, which will lead to his killing his sons (*HF* 30–88). VF's Juno also makes Hercules deal with the loss of a loved one. The two labours mentioned have had a lasting influence on Hercules' armour and weapons (cf. Sen. *HF* 44–6): the Nemean lion has given Hercules his outfit of the lion-skin (cf. 1.263, 3.567, 720–1, 8.125–6); the Lernean hydra has provided him with the poison for his

arrows (cf. e.g. 1.108–9 *Arcadio ... flammata ueneno | tela* (on *Arcadio* see Zissos on 1.34–6), Stat. *Theb.* 5.443–4 *Hylas Lernaeeaque tollens | arma sub ingenti gaudet sudare pharetra*). Both deeds (with different paraphrases) also serve as examples in Pelias' considerations that all dangers have been removed from the earth (1.33–6) and appear among the points of comparison for Hesione's plight from Hercules' point of view (2.495–6), a 'voluntary labour' about to be mentioned (512–13). In VF Hercules has completed his labours, whereas in AR he is in the middle of accomplishing them (1.122–32, 1317–20, 1347–8). **Nemeen:** Nemea is the name of a place in the northern Peloponnese including the surrounding valley, where Hercules killed the Nemean lion (Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.5.1). The word appears in its (Ionic) Greek form (*Nemee*) with Greek inflection (accusative; G–L §65), the norm for Greek names in VF (see Zissos 2008: lvii; see also 65–7n.). **bellae:** Columbus' emendation of the transmitted *belua* or *bellua* (cf. Virg. *Aen.* 6.287 *belua Lernae*). While the postponement of *-ue* is rare (cf. Hor. *Epod.* 2.49–50, Tib. 2.3.12, 2.6.52; see Liberman), the change to the transmitted text is slight and palaeographically easy. Hercules' labours can be called *bella* (cf. Sen. *HF* 527–8 *Alcmena genitus bella per omnia | monstis exagitet caeliferam manum*); with reference to a single labour, this must be a poetic plural or allude to the plurality of the Hydra's heads. **Lernae:** Lerna is the name of a town near Argos in the Peloponnese but also applied to a nearby lake or river: there Hercules killed the multi-headed Lernean hydra (Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.5.2). The genitive (dependent on *bella*) denotes the location and is best described as a form of the genitive of definition (Woodcock §72.5; cf. 1.564 *Phlegraeque labores*; a more straightforward construction at 2.496 *flumina Lernae*). **experiar:** a deliberative subjunctive.

512–14 Phrygiis ... | uidimus: Hercules is a difficult opponent for Juno since he has not only successfully completed the tasks set, but also successfully taken up challenges of his own, such as the rescue of Hesione by fighting the sea monster (2.451–549; cf. his desire to accomplish deeds at 2.378–84). He joined the Argonautic enterprise on his own initiative (1.107–8) rather than being prompted by Juno like other Argonauts (1.96–9). Seneca's Hercules, too, is ready to confront any monsters (Sen. *HF* 937–9).

512 Phrygiis ... monstis: poetic plural for the sea monster; it is active in the area of Troy, whose inhabitants are called *Phryges* (2.485, 551, 578). *monstra* are typically the objects of Hercules' labours, and creating those is characteristic of Juno (cf. 5.43 *ubi monstiferae par ille nouercae?*), though she is not responsible for this one. In the first episode of this book the enraged Cybele devises *noua monstra* (29) for Cyzicus (see Intro. 3.1).

513 † **pulchro** † ... **ponto**: the line must mean that Hercules reopened Pergamum's access to the sea by removing the sea monster. But there are no linguistic parallels for the transmitted text to have this meaning. Therefore editors adopt either Wakefield's *puro* or Columbus' *pulso* for *pulchro*. Both solutions create bold and vivid forms of expression, but neither can be regarded as a certain conjecture. **reserantem Pergama** 'him opening Pergamum to access' (*OLD resero*²), after it had been 'beleaguered' by the sea monster and was cut off from the sea. *Pergama* (neut. pl.) literally denotes 'the citadel of Troy' (*OLD*) but is also used with reference to Troy as a whole (e.g. Virg. *Aen.* 1.651).

514–15 **en ego** ... | ... **honos**? Juno is annoyed at the lack of respect for her descent and family position shown by Hercules' victories. In Virgil's *Aeneid* Juno complains that she, though having a powerful divine status, fights unsuccessfully against the Trojans (1.46–8 *ast ego, quae diuum incedo regina Iouisque | et soror et coniunx, una cum gente tot annos | bella gero*, also 7.308–10 *ast ego, magna Iouis coniunx, nil linquere inausum | quae potui infelix, quae memet in omnia uerti*, | *uincor ab Aenea*; cf. Ovid's versions, with a humorous twist, at *Met.* 3.263–6, and, without reference to family relationships, at 4.426–7). Virgil's point that Juno is both Jupiter's wife and his sister is replaced by a reference to her brother kings (i.e. Jupiter, Neptune, Pluto) when she fights against Jupiter's illegitimate son Hercules. In Virgil Juno envisages that people might no longer pay respect to her at her altars (1.48–9). In VF *honor* is likely to have the less concrete meaning of 'high esteem or respect' (*OLD honor*¹ 1a; on the form see 357n.), while Juno's preoccupation with her honour is maintained. With the word *gens* Juno uses another term of Roman political ideology (*OLD* 7).

515–16 **iam tum** ... | ... **angues**: according to the mythical tradition Juno sent serpents to Hercules soon after his birth, when the baby killed them (Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.4.8). The word order is intricate: *-que ... et equals et ... et*, linking an abstract and a concrete description. A more straightforward word order would be (Spaltenstein): *et* (i.e. *-que*) *primitiae dolorum iussae* (i.e. *a me*) *et angues fuerunt indecores* (i.e. *mihi*). *primitiae* means 'beginnings' in a transferred sense (*OLD* 2a), *dolor* denotes 'troubles', 'physical pain' (*OLD* 1), and *indecores* indicates 'inglorious, shameful' (*OLD indecor*). Mauerhofer (2004: 167 n. 13) argues that *dolorum | primitiae* refers to the great labours Juno caused for Alcmena when she was about to give birth to Hercules (cf. Ov. *Met.* 9.281–323). Since Juno's argument is focused on Hercules, the reference is more likely to initiatives directly targeting him. **tenero**: supply *puero*. The emphasis on the tender age highlights (embarrassingly for Juno) that in this confrontation the baby was immediately successful.

517–18 **debueram** ... | ... **pugnas**: since even her first challenge to the newborn Hercules was unsuccessful, Juno considers that she should not have continued to fight him as a young man (considerations of potential behaviour expressed by *debeo* in the indicative: Woodcock §125), only to argue against this possibility in the next couple of lines (519–20). The sequence and the diffident nature of the objection show that inactivity was not really an option. **iuueni** continues the chronological specification *iam tum* ... | ... **tenero** (515–16), indicating a further step. **uicta**: Juno feels defeated by Hercules, yet carries on fighting him. In Virgil's *Aeneid* (see 514–15n.) Juno considers conceding defeat or is about to be defeated by her opponent Aeneas (1.37–8 *mene incepto desistere uictam | nec posse Italia Teucrorum auertere regem!*, 7.310 *uincor ab Aenea*); then she encourages herself to create further obstacles even though she knows that she will not be able to change the fated course of events. **<ad> tales** ... **descendere pugnas**: *descendere* is a technical term for, among other things, descending for battle or entering as a competitor (*OLD* 3).

519–20 **uerum** ... | **tende, pudor**: Juno urges herself to persist in her opposition to Hercules. **animis insiste tuis** 'press on with your intentions' (*OLD insisto* 6, *animus* 7b). This imperative could be addressed to Juno herself, followed by an address to *pudor* with a change of subject, or it could already be addressed to *pudor*, with the identity of *tuis* only becoming clear in the following line. On balance, the second option seems to be more straightforward and gives the address to *pudor* greater force. **actumque per omnem** | **tende** 'exert yourself throughout the entire performance' (*OLD actus* 7, *tendo* 12; for *actus* in the singular see 4.43, for *tendere* see 3.555). This is the text in C, which seems possible; in the other major manuscripts the final word of 520 has replaced the original ending of 519. **pudor**: Juno addresses her *pudor*, talking to her own feelings or attitudes like a figure in Senecan tragedy. Juno feels that her honour (*OLD pudor* 3) has been violated (cf. 514–15) by her lack of success against Hercules and needs to be reasserted. Later *pudor* plays an important role in Medea's deliberations on whether or not to support Jason and thus potentially turn against her father and fatherland (on *pudor* in VF see Tschiedel 2002: 111–14). **et** 'even' (emphatic). **Furias Ditemque mouebo** does not refer to a particular action but hyperbolically illustrates Juno's determination to try anything, even enlisting the Furies and the god Dis, the ruler of the underworld. In the continuation of the episode Jupiter acknowledges that Juno might have recourse to such means (4.13 *i, Furias Veneremque moue*), a behaviour characterizing Juno in contrast to Jupiter (see Thuile 1980: 104). Later Juno thinks again of possible further measures (5.291 *uerum alios tunc ipsa dolos, alia orsa mouebo*), then in order to enable the

Argonauts to win the Golden Fleece. Both passages recall Juno expressing her readiness to seek assistance against the Trojans from anywhere in Virgil's *Aeneid* (7.310–12 *quod si mea numina non sunt | magna satis, dubilem haud equidem implorare quod usquam est: | flectere si nequeo superos, Acheronta mouebo*); the Virgilian Juno will realize her intention of engaging infernal powers and approach the Fury Allecto (7.323–6). VF's Juno has recourse to love and deceit; yet, Venus, the goddess of love, may take on the appearance of a Fury (2.106), and Furies can support love (7.170).

C. *Hylas lured by a stag and caught by a nymph on Juno's instigation*
(521–564)

At the end of her speech (509–20) Juno notices nymphs in the forests (521–8). One of them stands out by her curiosity (529–32) and is approached by Juno (533–4): Juno tells the nymph that she has intended the attractive Hylas as a partner for her (535–44). Then Juno arouses a stag and presents it to Hylas (545–51). The stag leads Hylas to a pool; Hylas, unable to reach the stag, discontinues the hunt and rests for refreshment (551–7). The nymph rises up and draws Hylas into the pool (558–64).

The appearance of the stag is a consequence of VF's remodelling the Hylas episode by the introduction of divine motivation (see 481–74on.: on the stag see Hawtree 2011: 63–6). This modification creates a parallel to Cyzicus' inadvertently hunting an animal with divine connections (19–31; see Intro. 3.1). The allusion to Hylas' future in the seer Mopsus' initial prophecy (1.218–20 *subita cur pulcher harundine crines | uelat Hylas? unde urna umeris niueosque per artus | caeruleae uestes?*) is generally interpreted as implying the standard version of the Hylas story (but see Spaltenstein): thus VF emphasizes the subsequent variant by contrast. At the same time Mopsus' focusing not on Hylas' fetching water but rather on his new incarnation as a denizen of the pool and asking for the reasons for this change looks forward to the novel motivation (see e.g. Malamud and McGuire 1993: 197–8, Herschkowitz 1998a: 152, Zissos 1999: 293–4, 2004d: 30 and n. 34, on 1.218–20, Ripoll 2012: 301; others see a contradiction and thus a sign of an unfinished work: e.g. La Penna 2000: 176).

VF's deviations from AR are again inspired by Virgil's *Aeneid*. The divinely prompted hunt of a stag by a young hero, leading to disaster, recalls Ascanius' hunting Silvia's stag in *Aeneid* 7 (7.475–539). This reinforces the relationship between Hercules and Hylas as modelled upon that of Aeneas and Ascanius (see 481–74on.) and contributes to presenting Hylas as a young warrior (182–5 with nn.). In the *Aeneid*, after Juno's

monologues (see 509–20n.), she approaches the wind god Aeolus in book 1 (1.50–75) and the Fury Allecto in book 7 (7.323–40). Juno's coaxing speech in VF is particularly reminiscent of her speech to Aeolus, where she promises him a nymph for his support in opposing the Trojans (1.64–75). Here Juno addresses the nymph directly. Yet, despite the individualizing trait of a proper name, Dryope (see 529n.) does not gain much of a personal profile (see e.g. Malamud and McGuire 1993: 204).

Moreover, the roles of Hylas and the nymph add the motif of a doomed love affair between young people at a spring. This recalls the stories of Narcissus and Echo and of Hermaphroditus and Salmacis in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. Narcissus is on the threshold between boyhood and manhood (3.351–2), and he is desired by many young men and women (3.353–5); the nymph Echo falls in love with him while he is out hunting in the woods (3.356–74), and he rests at a spring, exhausted by hunting, whereupon the disaster for him unfolds (3.413–17). The nymph Salmacis, who is characterized as not being a huntress, falls in love with the boy who is to become Hermaphroditus, when she sees him near a lake, and his transformation happens in the lake as a consequence of the nymph's gaining power over him (4.285–388). The sequence also bears similarities to Picus' hunting a phantom boar, sent by Circe, in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, which makes him enter a dense wood (14.358–64) and eventually allows her to turn him into a bird.

521 laeui iuga pinea montis: i.e. a mountaintop covered in pine trees (*OLD pineus* 1b; cf. 533); for pine trees on mountains see Plin. *HN* 16.40 *picea montes amat atque frigora*. For this line ending cf. 2.633 *discreti iuga pinea montis*, Virg. *Aen.* 11.320 *celsi plaga pinea montis*. Beyond an indication of direction, *laeui* might have a metaphorical meaning and foreshadow something unfavourable (*OLD* 3c, 4).

522 respicit: Juno's noticing the nymphs creates a dramatic transition from her speech to her actions (similarly at 1.560–1, 7.186). **uenantes ... nymphas:** the introduction of the nymphs as huntresses (see also Ov. *Met.* 4.302–9) recalls the depiction of Venus in Virgil's *Aeneid* when she appears to her son as a huntress (1.318–20 *namque umeris de more habilem suspenderat arcum | uenatrix dederatque comam diffundere uentis, | nuda genu nodoque sinus collecta fluentis*) and Aeneas considers that she might be a nymph (1.328–9).

523 undarum nemorumque decus: for nymphs associated with both waters and forests cf. Virg. *G.* 4.382–3 *Nymphasque sorores, | centum quae siluas, centum quae flumina seruant*. The same phrase is applied to a son of a nymph at Stat. *Theb.* 9.383 (*undarum nemorumque decus*). **leuis omnibus arcus:** supply *est* or *sunt* to all nouns in this enumeration; only at the end is there a

specific verb (525–6). For *leuis* ... *arcus* cf. Ov. *Pont.* 1.2.19 *intentus nervo leuis arcus equino*.

524 manicae ‘sleeves’ (OLD 2), describing, for instance, the clothing of effeminate adherents of religious cults (Virg. *Aen.* 9.616, Stat. *Theb.* 7.657) or of women (Tac. *Germ.* 17.3) and applied to armour protective of the fighting arm (Sil. 4.155–6, Juv. 6.255–7). **stricta myrtus habena** ‘a weapon of myrtlewood with a strap fastened to it’ (OLD *stringo* 1a). Myrtlewood was used for spearshafts and javelins (cf. Virg. *G.* 2.447–8, *Aen.* 3.22–3, 7.816–17, *Geop.* 11.7.6); here the term is employed metonymically for the weapon. *habena* denotes a ‘strap, thong, cord’ (OLD 3a), attached to a spear to heighten the impact of a throw. The nymphs’ hunting weapons may be made of myrtlewood since in Virgil’s *Aeneid* the female warrior Camilla carries spearshafts of myrtlewood (7.816–17) and the myrtle is a plant sacred to Aphrodite/Venus (cf. Plut. *Marc.* 22.6, Paus. 6.24.7), indicating an erotic context.

525 summo palla genu: the construction of this phrase is not entirely clear. It is probably best to assume that it is governed by the verb *innatat* and that *summo* ... *genu* is a local ablative. Since the dress of married women covered the entire body (cf. Hor. *Sat.* 1.2.94–100), a short garment, while having a practical function for huntresses, implies erotic appeal.

525–6 tenui uagus innatat unda | crinis ‘loose hair floats in a slender wave’. Loose, moving hair (cf. Ov. *Met.* 2.673) is characteristic of both huntresses and attractive women in Roman literature (cf. Virg. *Aen.* 1.319, Prop. 2.22.9, Ov. *Met.* 1.475–7, 2.411–16, Sen. *Phaedr.* 394–5, Sil. 15.24, Apul. *Met.* 2.16; on hairstyles see Ov. *Ars* 3.133–68). The detail contributes to presenting the nymphs not only as huntresses but also as erotically appealing. *unda*, found in some manuscripts and adopted by most modern editors, is the best reading, since *innatat* (OLD *innato* 3, transferred sense) and *unda* reinforce each other, although this metaphorical use seems unparalleled (for the collocation applied to water cf. Luc. 9.317–18 *iam brevis unda superne | innatat*). *tenui* then goes with *unda* (OLD *tenuis* 5b, transferred from its use for real water).

526 ad obscurae ... cingula mammae: the hair flows down to the band supporting the breast. *cingulum* literally means belt (like that of Pallas: Virg. *Aen.* 12.942–3); its use for ‘a band for a woman’s breasts’, called *fascia* elsewhere (OLD 2a), seems inspired by Virgil’s description of Penthesilea (*Aen.* 1.492 *aurea subnectens exsertae cingula mammae*). While the singular (*mammae*) is a proper singular with respect to an Amazon, it is collective with respect to the nymphs. *obscurae* means ‘hidden from sight, not

(or barely) visible’ (OLD 3a), since the *mammae* are both supported and covered by the *cingula*. Although the appearance of the nymphs has an erotic appeal, they are not clad in an indecent way with bare breasts.

527–8 ipsa ... | ... plantis: the earth herself responds as she is struck (OLD *plaudo* 1a) by the feet of the nymphs moving quickly and then sends up (OLD *summitto* 3a) grass (cf. Lucr. 1.7–8 *tibi suavis daedala tellus | summittit flores*, Prop. 1.2.9 *quos summittat humus formosa colores*). *teneris* ... *plantis* suggests naked feet while huntresses normally wear boots (e.g. Virg. *Aen.* 1.336–7). But these huntresses are nymphs, rather reminiscent of figures in erotic elegy (cf. Virg. *Ecl.* 10.49 *tibi ne teneras glacies secel aspera plantas*).

529 e quibus ... Dryope: a name for the nymph singled out (cf. AR 1.1228–9) is not attested elsewhere in the mythical tradition, and it is only mentioned once in this episode in VF. This name is also employed for one of the Lemnian women (2.174–5), equally added to the mythical tradition. Elsewhere, a nymph of this name appears in Virgil’s *Aeneid* (10.551). The story of a beautiful Dryope, who comes to a lake to bring garlands to the nymphs and is subsequently changed into a tree, is told in Ovid’s *Metamorphoses* (9.334–93; with some differences from Nicander). A Phoenician Dryope is mentioned in Statius’ *Thebaid* (2.613–14). For VF’s choice of name it may have been relevant that according to AR Hercules raised Hylas after he had killed his father when fighting the Dryopians (1.1211–20). There is also a possible etymological connection between the names of the two protagonists (see esp. Heerink 2007: 611–12, Keith 2008: 239–40): Greek *hyle* (ὕλη) means ‘forest, woodland’, and Greek *drys* (δρῦς) means ‘tree’ and specifically ‘oak’ (cf. the association with *siluicolae Fauno* at Virg. *Aen.* 10.551 and Pan’s descent from a nymph of Dryops at *Hom. Hymn.* 19.34). Keith (2008: 238–41) points out that the scene is located in the woods, with several different words for ‘wood’ used at prominent places; she sees those as Latin glosses on Hylas’ Greek name. **Herculeo ... percussa fragore** ‘staggered by the crashing noise created by Hercules’ (OLD *percutio* 8b, *fragor* 2). The nymph’s appearance is prompted by Hercules’ activities; thus he unknowingly contributes to the realization of Juno’s plans leading to the loss of his companion (see 550n.).

530 tela: weapons of the nymphs (cf. 522) rather than of Hercules. **processerat ultra:** prompted by the commotion caused by Hercules, the nymph Dryope has moved further than the others (on the tense see 532n.) and then apparently got separated from them. This is necessary for the plot and characterizes the nymph as adventurous (for a nymph singled out in reaction to noise cf. Virg. *G.* 4.351–2 *sed ante alias*

Arethusa sorores | *prospiciens*). In Propertius' version Hylas *processerat ultra* (1.20.23): the contrastive allusion underscores that in VF the events are not caused by Hylas. Further, the phrase may have a metapoetic dimension: each poet implicitly claims to have gone further than predecessors (see Heerink 2007; see 521–64n.).

532 rursus: having caught a glimpse of Hercules, the nymph returns to the spring, which has not been mentioned so far. For nymphs, who are *undarum nemorumque decus* (523), a spring is assumed as their accustomed dwelling place, and it is the traditional setting for the encounter between Hylas and the nymph. **attonitos referebat ab Hercule uultus:** lit. 'she brought back from Hercules a stupified face' (poetic plural): a vivid expression of the astonishment of the nymph. *referre uultus* is perhaps construed in analogy to *referre pedem*, and *ab Hercule* denotes the 'place of origin'. After a pluperfect tense (530 *processerat*), denoting a single, completed action, two verbs in the imperfect (also 531 *petebat*) describe the nymph's movements and feelings as the background to the action following in the historic present (533–4).

533–4 hanc ... | Iuno: the two protagonists of the next brief scene are given in prominent places at the start of two successive lines. **delapsa polo piceaeque acclinis opacae:** Juno descends from her post of observation (487) and tries to give herself a casual appearance. **piceaeque:** a specific type of pine tree (see 163–5n.), after the scene-setting *iuga pinea* in 521. **prensaque manu ... blanda:** Juno tries to create a feeling of intimacy and thus to lure the nymph into her scheme. This feigning of an attitude is similar to what Juno did when talking to Pallas (507). Elsewhere, too, gods take humans or other gods by the hand when they start talking to them, though without the intention of deceit (e.g. Hom. *Il.* 5.29–30, Virg. *Aen.* 2.592, Sil. 12.702). *blanda* could be nominative singular feminine referring to Juno's behaviour or accusative plural neuter, describing Juno's words; in view of *sic*, which qualifies the speech, the former is more likely (*OLD* 1a).

535–6 quem ... | ... procos: when Juno claims that the person she has long since destined to be joined to the nymph in marriage has arrived, this does not have to imply that Juno's intrigue is a long-term plan (as Zissos on 1.117–19 suggests); it is more likely an assertion for the sake of the argument (cf. 487–8). That Juno carries out her scheme with the prospect of marriage alludes to her role as the goddess of marriage (cf. Virg. *Aen.* 4.166 *pronuba Iuno*). In Virgil's *Aeneid* Juno promises a nymph in marriage when she asks Aeolus to take action against the Trojans (1.71–5). **tot dedignata ... | ... procos:** if *dedignata* is interpreted as a nominative singular feminine, the phrase implies that

Juno has reserved Hylas for marriage with the nymph, rejecting many suitors of Dryope (*OLD* *procus*²; cf. Prop. 2.9.4 *tam multis femina digna procis*). If *dedignata* is seen as a vocative singular feminine, the nymph appears as not easy to please, since she has rejected many suitors and can only be caught by Hylas as extolled by Juno (cf. Stat. *Silu.* 1.2.169–72). The second interpretation (thus Wagner) is rather complex, since it leads to a construction that makes the interwoven word order even more intricate, and such a predicative attribute to an (unexpressed) vocative is not common (G–L §325 r. 1, noting that exceptions are 'apparent or poetical', e.g. Virg. *Aen.* 10.811, Tib. 1.7.53).

536 en: the deictic word emphasizes that what Juno says is happening and directs the nymph's attention to the boy. **Haemonia ... alno:** *alnus* (lit. 'alder') is a frequent metonymy for 'ship' (*OLD* 2a), though rarely used for the Argo in VF (cf. 1.203). For *Haemonius* referring to the Argo and the Argonauts see 27–8n.

537 clarus Hylas 'noble Hylas': this description increases his desirability, although VF does not give details about Hylas' descent (see AR 1.1212–20; see 733–5n.). For this use of *clarus* cf. 4.348 *pius Oeagri claro de sanguine uates*, 6.222–3 *clari Taulantis alumnus* | *semidea genetrix Tages*, Hor. *Sat.* 1.6.58, Virg. *Aen.* 5.564–5, Stat. *Silu.* 5.2.27. **saltusque tuos fontesque:** the collocation gives the characteristic habitat of nymphs (cf. 523 *undarum nemorumque decus*) and thus places Hylas already within the accustomed environment of the nymphs.

538 uidisti: without a transition Juno has the nymph recall her experience of Bacchus (on imagery connected with this god in VF see Newman 1986: 223–5). Subsequently it becomes clear that the nymph is to imagine that someone as glorious as Bacchus or Apollo is given to her (541–2). Both Bacchus and Apollo are presented in situations displaying their masculine power (for the two gods cf. 1.566–7 *sic ecce meus, sic orbe peracto* | *Liber et expertus terras remeavit Apollo*). Ovid's Narcissus, one of the reference points for Hylas, is compared to these two gods with respect to his hair (*Mel.* 3.421; see 481–74on.).

538–40 uidisti ... | cum ... | duceret ac ... mouentem: Bacchus in triumph and in sacred rites. The first scene is expressed as a *cum*-clause and the second as an accusative with participle construction: the accusative object of *uidisti*, valid for both parts, is included as the subject (*Bacchus*) in the *cum*-clause (see Merone 1957: 89). To remove this complex construction, Gärtner (2010: 216–17) suggests punctuating after *duceret*, reading <h>*ac rursus* and regarding the participle *mouentem* as parallel with *uenantem*: these changes lead to a rather clumsy sequence of <h>*ac ... | hunc*, which obscures the alternative *hunc ... uel ...*

Phoebum. **roseis** ... | ... | ... **mouentem**: Bacchus is introduced as celebrating a triumph over eastern peoples, an element of the Dionysiac myth (e.g. 5.75-81, 6.137-40, Virg. *Aen.* 6.804-5, Stat. *Theb.* 8.237-9, AR 2.905-10; see Kern 1903: 1039-40), and returning to his usual occupation of sacrificial actions. Later the Argonauts come into contact with the regions that Bacchus passed on his journey to the East, and Jason says that the Argonautic enterprise could have surpassed that of Bacchus (5.495-7). This may suggest a comparison between the Argonautic voyage and Bacchus' expedition (see Barnes 1981: 369-70). **roseis**: applied to Bacchus' reins and, if understood as *pars pro toto*, to his chariot. At 2.261 it appears as an epithet of the Dawn's chariot (*roseis Auroram surgere bigis*), as is frequent in the Homeric tradition; it refers to the Dawn's reins at Sil. 1.578 (*roseasque mouebat habenas*). The word is unusual with reference to Bacchus (applied to the chariot of the Moon at Stat. *Ach.* 1.619-20 *scandebat roseo medii fastigia caeli | Luna iugo*), and it may be an allusion to Bacchus' return from the Orient, from where Dawn rises (539 *eoī ... regni*). OLD (2) interprets the term here as 'made of roses', which does not seem to have parallels. The word appears in the ordinary sense of 'rosy' in connection with natural phenomena or youthful appearance elsewhere in VF (4.77, 5.365, 6.527, 674, 8.30-1, 257). **haec per loca**: in VF the neuter plural tends to denote a neighbourhood or region (cf. also 643, 685; see Romeo 1907: 20, Zissos on 1.849-50). **fercula**: structures on which booty or captives could be carried in a triumphal procession (OLD 1a). This Roman convention is envisaged (anachronistically) for a god by a Roman poet. **sacra mouentem**: cf. 232 *molis ... sacris* with n.

541 posito uenantem pectine: Apollo (Phoebus) is presented as a hunter having put down the lyre (for these two aspects cf. *Hymn. Hom. Ap.* 131, Callim. *Hymn.* 2.42-4). Apollo is more prominent as the god of music and poetry, but he is also associated with hunting (see e.g. Burkert 1985: 143-9), as he is the brother of the hunting goddess Diana. This portrayal can particularly appeal to the nymph, introduced as a huntress (522). **pectine** 'plectrum or quill of a lyre', often used metonymically as *pars pro toto* for 'lyre' (OLD 2b).

542-4 quae spes ... | ... | ... Lycormae: to increase Hylas' value and attractiveness, Juno adds that nymphs in three regions of Greece will be sad because Hylas has been snatched away from them. For a youth desired by many nymphs from different areas cf. Ov. *Met.* 14.326-34. **spes**: i.e. the hope to gain Hylas. **nymphis** ... **Achaeis**: i.e. the nymphs in Achaia. Although *Achaia* (and adjectives derived from it) can denote Greece as a whole (e.g. 697), here it seems to have a narrower sense,

presumably referring to the northern part of the Peloponnese peninsula (OLD *Achaia* 2). **praereptum quanto**: each item of this three-part enumeration is presented in a different construction, with the interrogative pronoun or adjective postponed for the second and third element. In this phrase the main verb is *audiet*, and it governs an accusative + infinitive, of which only *praereptum* is expressed and *eum ... esse* has to be supplied. **proles Boebeia**: an offspring of the Boebeian Lake near the city of Boebe in Thessaly (cf. Hom. *Il.* 2.711-12) will be a nymph. Archinus is said to have connected the name of the place with a nymph called Boibeis (Σ Pind. *Pyth.* 3.59). **flauī ... nata Lycormae**: Lycormas is a river in Aetolia (a Greek region north of the Gulf of Corinth), later called Euenus (Strab. 7.7.8, 10.2.5) and often characterized as 'yellow' (cf. Ov. *Met.* 2.245 *flauusque Lycormas*, Sen. *HO* 591 *flauus ... Lycormas*, Hyg. *Fab.* 242.1 *Euenus Herculis filius in flumen Lycormam se praecipitavit, quod nunc Chrysorrhoeas appellatur*). Euenus' daughter is Marpessa; the name of the river was changed when Euenus jumped into it while pursuing the abductor of his daughter. The phrase *nata Lycormae*, technically incorrect, pointedly alludes to this myth.

545 sic ait et: at the end of Juno's speech no reaction of the nymph is mentioned: when the narrative continues with Juno making preparations to realize her promise, the nymph's agreement can be inferred.

546 suscitāt 'rouses up' (OLD 1b 'to start (an animal) from its lair', with this passage as the only example; the verb generally means 'rouse'). Although the stag has magical qualities and is able to play tricks (547-54), the wording suggests that Juno rouses up a 'real' stag rather than creating an empty image (contrast Circe and Picus at Ov. *Met.* 14.358-60 *dixit, et effigiem nullo cum corpore falsi | finxit apri praeterque oculos transcurrere regis | iussit et in densum trabibus nemus ire uideri*, and the likeness of Aeneas at Virg. *Aen.* 10.636-44). **iuueni**: i.e. Hylas. He is called *puer* elsewhere (1.109, 3.183, 552, 555, 4.22); apparently he is at the transition from boy to young man, but here is to be seen as a hunter. **sublimem cornibus**: the stag is impressive with lofty, large antlers and thus a particular temptation for a hunter. The detail may allude to the description of the fateful stag in *Aeneid* 7 (7.483 *ceruus erat forma praestanti et cornibus ingens*) and to Aeneas' hunt when he first arrives in Carthage in *Aeneid* 1, also in a leafy area, where stags with huge antlers appear as leaders of the herd (1.189-91 *ductoresque ipsos primum capita alta ferentis | cornibus arboreis sternit, tum uulguis et omnem | miscet agens telis nemora inter frondea turbam*; for similar descriptions of large antlers cf. 6.421, Hom. *Od.* 10.158, Sil. 3.39).

547 animos: poetic plural (referring to Hylas). **tardusque fugae longumque resistens:** the double *-que* connects the two expressions describing the same behaviour with contrasting emphasis: this movement makes Hylas assume again and again that he is close to reaching his target, but the ancients also seem to have believed that stags stop during their flight (e.g. Plin. *HN* 8.113). **tardusque fugae** ‘slow to flee’: *tardus* with genitive of reference (Woodcock §73(6)) is a poetic construction (*OLD* 1; cf. Ov. *Hal.* 19 *sepia tarda fugae*). **longumque** ‘for a long time’: accusative of duration with adverbial force (cf. 4.436, 6.332). **resistens** ‘pausing’ (*OLD* 1a).

548 sollicitat suadetque: cf. Virg. *Aen.* 11.254 *sollicitat suadetque ignota lacescere bella*. **suadetque pari contendere cursu:** the stag ‘urges’ Hylas (for *suadere* applied to non-human agents see *OLD* 3) to run after it at the same speed (contrast 486). For the line ending cf. Virg. *Aen.* 5.291 *rapido contendere cursu*.

549 credit Hylas: the verb (sometimes emended) indicates concisely that Hylas is taken in by Juno’s deceit. **praedaeque ferox amore propinquae:** just as Cyzicus (21), Hylas is carried away by desire for booty. Such a desire also characterizes the ‘hunters’ Ascanius and Camilla in Virgil’s *Aeneid* (7.496, 11.782).

550 Alcides: i.e. Hercules (see 65–7n.). Hercules is with Hylas when the stag appears (see 481–74on.) and even spurs him on to pursue it: in tragic irony Hercules encourages the activity that will lead to his loss of Hylas (see 529n.).

551 iamque ex oculis aufertur uterque: in a rapid narrative, immediately after Hercules has encouraged Hylas, still in his view, the two of them, Hylas and the stag, have moved out of Hercules’ sight. The motif of sight is taken up when Hercules looks for Hylas in vain (571–2; for another graphic description of something moving out of sight cf. 1.494–7).

552–3 quadripes: i.e. the stag, lit. ‘a four-footed creature’ (*OLD* *quadrupes* 3). The term is applied to the stag Ascanius will wound at Virg. *Aen.* 7.500, the only instance in Virgil’s poetry where this word denotes a stag. **minantem | tela:** *minor* with a weapon as object is unusual (but cf. 1.337 *signiferum cratera minantem*, 4.289 *dextramque parat dextramque minatur*). **procul:** with *ducit* rather than with *minantem*: the stag leads Hylas to the spring, which is far from where the pursuit started. This creates the impression that the incident happens in a deserted area. In AR the spring does not seem so far away since it is the place where people fetch water and Polyphemus hears Hylas’ cry when he disappears (1.1207–10, 1221–2, 1240–2; on the settings see

Murgatroyd 1992: 87–8). **spiracula:** this rare word typically denotes an air-hole or breathing-hole from which vapours issue (cf. Virg. *Aen.* 7.568 *saevi spiracula Ditis*); here it refers to an ‘opening, outlet’ in transferred sense (*OLD* 2).

554 levis: a predicative adjective describing the way in which the stag runs over the water, implying both a nimble movement and the lack of weight (*OLD* 2, 5). **superfugit:** not attested elsewhere, but the compound (with accusative object) is straightforward: the stag glides over the water without touching it (cf. Camilla’s characterization at Virg. *Aen.* 7.808–11 *illa uel intactae segetis per summa uolaret | gramina nec teneras cursu laessisset aristas, | uel mare per medium fluctu suspensa tumentis | ferret iter celeris nec tingeret aequore plantas*).

555 hoc pueri spes lusa modo est: as the stag is now beyond reach, Hylas’ hope of quick and easy booty (549) is baffled (*OLD* *ludo* 9a). Typically a person is the direct object of *ludere* (e.g. Virg. *Aen.* 1.352 *uana spe lusit amantem*); here it is replaced by the feelings of the person. In contrast to Ascanius in Virgil’s *Aeneid* (7.496–9), Hylas’ hunting will not be successful. In fact, not only are Hylas’ immediate hopes baffled, but the hopes resting on him will not be realized either (183–4). At the same time the hopes of at least one nymph are close to being fulfilled (cf. 541). **tendere** ‘to make an effort, exert oneself’ (*OLD* 12).

556–7 utque: an *ut*-clause with pluperfect (secondary sequence after a historic present). The clause indicates the temporal sequence but also implies a reason why a rest near the water is desirable. **concita** ‘labouring’, ‘panting’. **diluerat** ‘moisten, wash, bathe’ (*OLD* 2).

557 audius: a predicative adjective, referring to Hylas; presumably *bibendi* (‘to drink’) is to be understood. The notion is complemented by *gratos* (with *amnes*): the water is ‘welcome’ to the thirsty boy. **procumbit:** lying down near the water causes disaster for Hylas in Propertius (1.20.41) and for Narcissus in Ovid’s *Metamorphoses* (3.413–14). **amnes** typically denotes particularly running water; here it refers to the water of the pool, perhaps implying a gentle movement (*OLD* 3a), in contrast to *stagna* in the subsequent simile. The same term appears in Hylas’ speech when he describes his fate to Hercules (4.26–7 *me | nympa rapit . . . in amne* (Bury: *amnes* γ)).

558–9 uaga . . . luce indicates an area radiating with shifting light (*OLD* *uagus* 3), taken up by *diffundit* (560). **sic** introduces (in postponed position) the simile (see Pice 2003: 215–16), describing the gleaming of water when lit by the bright light of the moon or of the midday sun (cf. AR 3.756–9, Theoc. *Id.* 13.50–1). The transfer to the item illustrated, Hylas’

gleaming over the waters, is marked by *tale* (560). The juxtaposition of two main clauses is less common; it is a looser construction, when the simile is first presented on its own and then the transfer is emphasized (cf. Stat. *Theb.* 7.744–50, 7.804–8, 10.228–35). **micant** ‘flash’ (*OLD* 3). **Cynthia** ‘the moon’ (*OLD* 1b); i.e. Diana/Artemis, who came to be regarded as the goddess of the moon and was called Cynthia after the mountain Cynthus on the island of Delos, where she was born. In AR the moon strikes Hylas when a nymph sees him near the spring (1.1229–32). **prospicit**: for its application to celestial bodies cf. 130–1 *quantus ubi immenso prospexit ab aethere Typhon | igne simul uentisque rubens*. **transit** ‘crosses over’ (*OLD* 1a), i.e. passes the zenith. **rota** ... **Phoebe** ‘orb of the sun’ (*OLD* *rota* 4b). Like the moon, the sun is identified by an epithet for its god (Apollo). For descriptions of the sun in the middle of its course see 481–2n. The paraphrase recalls Enn. *Ann.* 558 W. = 572 Sk. *inde patefecit radiis rota candida caelum* (see Skutsch *ad loc.*).

560 iubar ‘radiance, brightness’, emanating from a face, in poetic and figurative sense with reference to beauty of appearance (*OLD* 2a; cf. Sen. *Tro.* 448, Mart. 8.65.4). The subject is Hylas, who spreads a natural radiating brightness over the water as if it was lit by the moon or the sun. In VF Hylas’ beauty beams on its own, whereas in AR it becomes visible because of the moon’s rays (1.1229–32). In Propertius the Dryades are attracted by Hylas’ *candor* (1.20.45). Here the nymph Dryope has been prompted by Juno; therefore an additional incentive by Hylas’ beautiful appearance is not needed, neither is another intervention of the goddess (so Postgate 1900: 256–7: *dea fundit*). **nil** ‘in no way’: an adverbial accusative, with the force of a strengthened *non*.

561 turbauitque: *-que* goes with the following noun, completing a series of three: *umbra et comae et sonus* (560–1). The three nouns form the subject (the predicate *turbauit* agrees with the nearest), the following genitive attribute applies to all. The object of the entire clause must be *iubar* (supplied from the preceding clause); it is not affected by the nymph’s approach, so that Hylas is not forewarned. The sequence describes how the nymph gradually approaches: she first appears as a shadow or a reflection of her frame (see Nováková 1964: 41, 131; *umbra* is unlikely to refer to the trees: thus Wagner, Köstlin 1891: 733), then her hair appears, and finally, once she has emerged further and approaches Hylas, a noise is heard. It has been assumed that the brightness reflected in the pool blinds Hylas and he therefore does not see the nymph drawing closer (e.g. Malamud and McGuire 1993: 206–7, Heerink 2007: 612). But *turbauit* rather indicates that the nymph’s movements do not lead to any disturbance, so that Hylas does not notice anything

until it is too late (562). **surgentis ad oscula**: supply *danda*; cf. Juv. 6.507 *et leuis erecta consurgit ad oscula planta*. **nymphae**: i.e. Dryope.

562 auidas: a transferred epithet, describing the nymph’s feelings. The same emotion is ascribed to Hylas a few lines earlier, with reference to the water of the spring (557). **iniecta manus** ‘having laid hands on’: *iniecta* has a ‘middle’ sense and thus can take an accusative object (*OLD* *inicio* 6a; for passive verbs with ‘middle’ sense in poetry see Zissos on 1.34–6).

562–3 heu sera cientem | auxilia et magni referentem nomen amici ‘oh, crying for help too late and recalling the name of his great friend’. Hylas’ cries for help consist in calling for Hercules, since *et* has epexegetic force (*OLD* 11). In AR Hylas’ cries are heard by Polyphemus, who then investigates and later is able to tell Hercules that Hylas has been lost (1.1240–52). **heu**: this exclamation inserted by the narrator emphasizes the tragic atmosphere. **magni**: a standard epithet of heroes (e.g. 4.444, 6.550; cf. Stat. *Ach.* 2.83 *magni clamantem nomen Achillis*). Typically it is linked with a personal name; in connection with *amicus* it therefore may not be just an ornamental epithet, but also retain its actual meaning, thus contrasting the frequent collocation *magnus Hercules* or other forms of the name (e.g. Virg. *Aen.* 5.414) with *paruus Hylas* (599).

564 adiutae ... uires: supply *sunt*; the *uires* are those of the nymph. **prono ... pondere**: Hylas’ bodily weight draws him down as he bends forward to the water (557), which contributes to the nymph’s initiative. *prono* means ‘directed downwards or towards the ground’ (*OLD* 2b); for the phrase cf. Catull. 62.51 *sed tenerum prono deflectens pondere corpus*. In Propertius Hylas’ movement into the water is described as *prolapsum leuiter facili traxere liquore* (1.20.47). In AR too Hylas’ position contributes: when he bends down to fetch water, the nymph can reach him and draw him down (1.1234–9). **nam**: a postponed conjunction (see 44n.).

D. Hercules’ reaction to Hylas’ disappearance and his search for him (565–597)

After the Hylas thread has come to a conclusion with his disappearance into the pool (562–4), the narrative switches to Hercules: he has obtained the material for a new oar and is returning to his companions (564–9). When he cannot see Hylas anywhere, he becomes worried; the approaching night increases his fear, and he suspects that his step-mother (Juno) is behind the situation, while he is unaware of the truth of this hypothesis (570–80). Greatly concerned, Hercules rushes into the mountains, searching for Hylas (581–97). Three similes illustrate his feelings and reactions (577–9, 581–3, 587–9). In AR Hercules is equally

upset; but since Polyphemus tells him that something has happened to Hylas (1.1240–72), Hercules is not subject to the same uncertainty, and the description of his plight is less extensive.

565 iam: see 1–2n. **pater ... Tirynthius:** Hercules (on *Tirynthius* see 133–4n.) is not normally described as *pater*; the term alludes to his relationship to Hylas (see 481–740n.): Hylas addresses him thus when he appears to Hercules in his sleep (4.25). **umbrosis ... arcibus:** trees on the top of the mountain (see 485n.; *OLD arx* 5a). **ornum:** the type of tree Hercules has been aiming for (485). For the wording cf. Virg. *Aen.* 2.626 *summis antiquam in montibus ornum*, 10.766 *summis referens annosam montibus ornum*. The transmitted *ornos* | ... *reuulsam* is best changed to *ornum* | ... *reuulsam* (with Caussin and most modern editors), since Hercules was looking for a single tree to replace his oar.

566 depulerat ‘he had thrust down’ (*OLD* 4), indicating the force applied (cf. also *reuulsam*). This may be a reflection of the more detailed description in AR of how Hercules uproots the tree with his club and his enormous strength (1.1190–205). **magnoque iugi stridore:** an ablative of attendant circumstances characterizing *reuulsam* (for the noise cf. 529). *iugi* refers back to *arcibus* (565) and confirms that the activity and the resultant noise occur at the top of the mountain. Therefore there is no need to change *iugi* to *iugis* (so e.g. Morel 1938: 65, Liberman; *contra* Spaltenstein).

567 terga ... fului ... horrida monstri: the lion-skin is Hercules’ characteristic garment (cf. 8.125–6). *terga* has the sense of ‘the covering of an animal’s back (i.e. its skin or hide)’ (*OLD* 7a); the description as *horrida* (*OLD* 1a, 6a) could be concrete (‘bristly’, ‘rough’) or figurative (‘causing horror’). AR says that Hercules puts down the lion-skin before he uproots the tree and picks it up afterwards (1.1195, 1206).

568 litora curua petens: cf. Virg. *Aen.* 10.683–4 *litora nando | curua petat*: in VF the movement towards the shore is over land.

568–9 alio ... | ... ferina: a natural assumption since Hercules lost sight of Hylas when he was pursuing the stag (549–51). **ferina** ‘venison’, supply *carne* (cf. Virg. *Aen.* 1.215 *implentur ueteris Bacchi pinguisque ferinae*). When Hercules envisages that Hylas’ hunting success would be a welcome addition to their meal, this may allude to his proverbial gluttony and provides a link to the fact that the companions have made preparations for a meal (570).

570–1 neque ... | ... nec links two areas where Hercules cannot see Hylas, expressed with different constructions: prepositional and participial phrase.

570 structasque in litore mensas creates a parallel with Virgil’s Trojans, who have meals after landing on a foreign shore (e.g. *Aen.* 1.174–9, 7.107–11), and recalls an element of the standard version of the story (cf. AR 1.1179–88, Theoc. *Id.* 13.32–9), when Hylas disappears while fetching water for the meal.

571 unanimum is more often said about two people but is attested with reference to one person close to another (cf. 4.162 *Otreos unanimi*, Virg. *Aen.* 4.8 *unanimam ... sororem*, Sen. *Oed.* 773, Stat. *Theb.* 4.353–4, 9.169, 10.727, *Silu.* 5.1.176, *Sil.* 9.401, 13.650–1). **aeger:** as soon as Hercules realizes that Hylas has disappeared, his mood changes (cf. AR 1.1261–4).

572 aciem ‘sight’ (*OLD* 2a). **uarios ... aestus** ‘a variety of worries’ (*OLD aestus* 9b; for *aestus* applied to upsetting emotions cf. 364–5 with n., 5.302–3).

573 nube mali percussus: Hercules (or his love) are overwhelmed by a whole range of evils or thoughts of evil. The mass of indistinct frightening elements is illustrated by the image of a cloud (*OLD nubes* 9; cf. Hom. *Il.* 17.591, 18.22, Ov. *Trist.* 1.1.40 *nubila sunt subitis tempora nostra malis*, Luc. 6.297, *Sil.* 6.589–90). **amor:** the most explicit description of the homoerotic dimension of the relationship between Hercules and Hylas so far (also 736 *urit amor*; see 481–740n.). At the point when Hercules is devastated by the loss of his companion this detail gains its full force.

573–4 quibus ... | quis: uarios ... aestus (572) is specified by two asyndetic indirect questions, loosely dependent on it.

573 oris presumably has the general sense of ‘region, land, district’ (*OLD ora* 3) rather than literally ‘shores’.

574 impune: lit. ‘without punishment’. While this notion may seem inappropriate for abstract concepts (*casus*, *labor*), it can be interpreted as an illustration of Hercules’ mad concern in that he would be prepared to punish anything for Hylas’ sake. **casusue laborue:** while there are precedents for the connection of two nouns by *-ue ... -ue* at the end of a line (Virg. *Aen.* 9.211 *si quis in aduersum rapiat casusue deusue*), the parallel with another passage in Virgil’s *Aeneid* (12.321–2 *quis tantam Rutulis laudem, casusne deusne, | attulerit*) might suggest that *casusne laborne* is the required reading (Liberman). However, the transmitted text can be seen as a vivid description of Hercules’ state of mind (*OLD -ue* 2), and imitation with variation is common.

575 descendere: this infinitive is the only verb in the clause; it is difficult to interpret it as a historic infinitive (thus e.g. Delz 1976: 97; see 63n.), since the qualification *maiore metu* suggests a description from the perspective of

an individual. Therefore some editors have posited a lacuna after this line or thought of textual corruption. But it can be seen as an elliptical expression, with the subject and predicate to be inferred from 571 (supply *Hercules uidet*); the next clause is also elliptical (Ehlers, Dräger). Or the sentence could be a continuation of Hercules' thoughts (i.e. an indirect statement) started by the preceding indirect questions (Mozley). For a similarly elliptical style involving a character's feelings cf. the description of Hercules' fight with the sea monster threatening Hesione (2.524–6). **noctem**: the last indication of time, just before the Argonauts land at Mysia, is a description of midday (481–2). Their landing, Hercules' getting the oar and returning to his companions while Hylas chases the stag and waiting for him have presumably taken until nightfall. That a point in time is given here contributes to the dramatic colouring, since night increases fear (576, cf. 362–3; see Gärtner 1998: 211). In AR the Argonauts arrive in Mysia in the evening (1.1172–8) and prepare a meal and a sacrifice at nightfall (1.1179–86); Hylas' abduction takes place at night in moonlight (1.1231–2).

576–7 tum ... | ... rigor: supply *oritur* or *fit*. **amens** | ... **rigor**: *amens* is a transferred epithet, referring to Hercules; for a similar state of mind cf. the description of the Argonauts at 263 *tenet exsangues rigor horridus artus*. **piceo sudore**: either literally sweat mixed with dust, giving a visual contrast to *pallor* (for dark *sudor* cf. Virg. *Aen.* 9.812–14, Ov. *Met.* 9.173), or implying an indication of Hercules' feelings, influenced by the description of his reaction to the news of Hylas' disappearance in AR (1.1261–2 'When Hercules heard this, sweat in abundance poured down from his temples, and black blood boiled in his guts').

577–9 ceu ... | ... minax: a simile illustrating Hercules' feelings and the resulting inability to move (for *ceu* introducing similes see 83–5n.; cf. Gärtner 1994: 108–10) by a comparison with the fear of sailors or farmers at the appearance of a dark storm cloud (on similes in VF with reference to seafaring see 108–10n.). The simile is closely integrated since Hercules has just been described as affected by a 'cloud' (573). Two further similes will follow (581–3, also introduced by *ceu pectora*, 587–9). The sequence visualizes Hercules' sorrows, with the three comparisons focusing on different aspects: an initial freeze with an inability to act, followed by a sudden panic start, leading to angry activity intent on revenge, but without the target and thus without effect (see Shey 1968: 95, Gärtner 1994: 108–9, 118–19, Pice 2003: 216–17). This results in perseverance and sadness, demonstrated by the simile closing the book (733–40). **pectora ... | congelat** 'it chills the hearts' (*OLD* *congelat* 3). **hiberni uultus Iouis**: a combination of Jupiter seen as a (weather) god and as representing the manifestations of the weather.

uultus Iouis literally means 'aspect of Jupiter' and then 'aspect of the sky', developed from Jupiter seen as the weather god (*OLD* *Iuppiter* 2a; cf. 2.66 *uultus Olympi*). **hiberni** has the wider meaning of rough weather associated with winter (cf. 4.105, 6.632–3). **agricolisue**: words covering the fifth and sixth foot of the hexameter are rare in VF (see Kösters 1893: 96). **umbra**: 'black cloud' (Langen) rather than 'dark tempest' (Spaltenstein): the cloud is only 'coming together', and its dark shadows threaten, but the tempest has not yet started (see also Nováková 1964: 71). For similar descriptions of the preparatory stages of a tempest cf. Sen. *Thy.* 993–4 *spissior densis coit | caligo tenebris*, Stat. *Theb.* 5.584 *nimbique hiemesque coibant*, 10.914 *coeunt ipsae sine flamine nubes*.

579 comitis ... error 'the wandering of his companion' (*OLD* *error* 1a), not some error on Hylas' part. **sic** marks (postponed) the transition back from the simile to the narrative.

580 Alciden: i.e. Hercules (see 65–7n.). **saeuaeque monet meminisse nouercae**: the fact that Hylas does not return 'serves as a reminder to remember' Hercules' stepmother (*OLD* *moneo* 3a, with examples for the construction with infinitive). Juno's intervention is indeed the reason, but this notion is introduced as Hercules' thought, presumably on the basis of previous experiences (cf. Ov. *Met.* 9.199 (Hercules speaking) *saeua Iouis coniunx*). Similarly, after Hylas has told him what happened, Hercules is prepared to expect further activities on Juno's part (4.55 *incertus quid Iuno ferat, quas apparet iras*).

581–3 uolucris ceu ... | ... ruens: a comparable simile illustrates Hercules' reaction to the news of Hylas' disappearance in AR (1.1265–9); sudden, particularly emotional reactions to major events are compared with the impact of gadflies elsewhere too (e.g. Hom. *Od.* 22.299–301, AR 3.276–7, Ov. *Met.* 11.334–5). Here it demonstrates that Hercules feels as if stung by grief and madly starts running into the woods (see Gärtner 1994: 110–14, Hershkowitz 1998b: 29–30). Virgil's Hercules too (in a different context) is spurred to action by mad grief (*Aen.* 8.219–20 *hic uero Alcidae furiis exarserat atro | felle dolor: rapit arma manu*). **pectora**: a Greek accusative with *tactus* (see 61n.). Like the preceding simile (577), this one starts with *ceu pectora* (see Gärtner 1994: 110); while the word is used in different primary senses, the repetition emphasizes the focus on Hercules' emotional disposition. **tactus**: seems not to be attested elsewhere with reference to insect bites; this use may have developed from expressions such as *de caelo* or *fulmine tangere* (*OLD* *tango* 4c). **asilo**: the Roman technical term for a gadfly stinging animals (cf. Virg. *G.* 3.146–51 *est lucos Silari circa ilicibusque uirentem | plurimus Alburnum uolitans, cui nomen asilo | Romanum est, oestrum Grai uertere*

uocantes, | asper, acerba sonans, quo tota exterrita siluis | diffugiunt armenta, furit mugitibus aether | concussus silvaeque et sicci ripa Tanagri). This terminology gives the description a realistic feel (on this insect cf. Plin. *HN* 11.100, 32.10, Sen. *Epist.* 58.2). **Calabris**: VF refers to Calabria (a region in southern Italy) in other similes and illustrative descriptions (1.682–4 *sic cum stabulis et messibus ingens | ira deum et Calabri populator Sirius arui | incubuit*, 3.729 *Calabris ... armentarius aruis*), where the rearing of cattle is also mentioned (for the breeding of cattle in Calabria cf. Hor. *Carm.* 1.31.5–6, Virg. *G.* 2.195–7). The same local specification occurs in a simile in Statius (*Theb.* 3.22–3 *ac uelut ille | fluctibus Ioniis Calabrae datus arbiter alno*), close to a mention of *hibernus Iuppiter* (Stat. *Theb.* 3.26; see VF 3.578). **per confraga ... | obuia quaeque ruens** ‘rushing through any rough places in its way’.

583–4 tali ... | ... fuga: Hercules is not ‘fleeing’ literally; the wording indicates his swift and mad rushing. **in iuga senta** ‘towards rough ridges’.

584–5 pauet ... | silua, pauent montes: the two anaphoric clauses emphasize the pathetic fallacy. **conscia ... | silua**: the wood knows of the rape of Hylas (for similar personified expressions cf. 211 *nox conscia*, 4.355–6).

586 quid ... -que quid: two indirect questions, linked by *-que* and dependent on *pauet/pauent*; in both cases the question word is postponed.

587 ille emphasizes the return to Hercules by its emphatic position at the start of the line and the sentence. This beginning is followed by a simile (587–9) and continued in the comparison introduced by *sic* (590).

587–9 uelut ... | ... hostem: comparisons with lions and/or hunted animals are frequent in epic poetry (cf. e.g. AR 2.26–9, Theoc. *Id.* 13.61–3, Virg. *Aen.* 12.4–8 *Poenorum qualis in aruis | saucius ille graui uenantum uulnere pectus | tum demum mouet arma leo, gaudetque comantis | excutiens ceruice toros fixumque latronis | impavidus frangit telum et fremit ore cruento*, Luc. 1.205–12). A lion wounded by an opponent whom he cannot identify and catch and therefore raging against the absent enemy appropriately illustrates Hercules’ situation: he feels hurt but does not know who is responsible and against whom to turn and therefore rages wildly in the woods (see Gärtner 1994: 114–19). Another lion simile applied to Hercules closes the book (737–40). **Mauri**: a people of North Africa. They were said to shoot arrows backwards when in retreat; they therefore illustrate a form of morally unsound fighting coming from an uncertain direction (for Mauri using arrows and javelins cf. Hor. *Carm.* 1.22.2, Luc. 1.210–11 (in a lion simile) *torta levis si lancea Mauri | haereat*, Sil. 3.339; for Mauri as formidable fighters on horseback cf. Strab. 17.3.7, Paus. 8.43.3). **uasto ... murmure**

‘tremendous roaring’ (*OLD* *uastus* 3c, *murmur* 1b). For the phrase (with reference to a mountain) cf. Virg. *Aen.* 1.245–6 *unde per ora nouem uasto cum murmure montis | il mare proruptum et pelago premit arua sonanti*; for *murmur* applied to a lion cf. Luc. 1.209–10 (*leo*) *uasto graue murmur hiatu | infremuit*. **leo**: the last syllable is metrically short due to iambic shortening (*lēō*); this is the more common metrical treatment of this word in VF, although iambic shortening generally is rare (see Zissos 2008: lxv–lxvi). **frangit ... absentem ... hostem**: for animals raging against absent foes cf. Virg. *Aen.* 9.62–3 *ille asper et improbus ira | saeuit in absentis*, Sil. 4.334–6. **et**: a postponed conjunction (see 44n.).

590 furiis accensa gerens ... ora ‘carrying (i.e. displaying) a face (i.e. facial expression), inflamed by madness (or: avenging rage)’. *furiis* is not personified and describes wild emotions (*OLD* 2). For *ora gerere* cf. 674–5 *nempe ora aequae mortalia cuncti | ecce gerunt*. The first part of the phrase recalls Aeneas just before he kills Turnus (Virg. *Aen.* 12.946–7 *furiis accensus et ira | terribilis*). VF’s Hercules therefore is linked to both Turnus (via the lion simile; see 587–9n.) and Aeneas in their fateful encounter. **Tirynthius**: i.e. Hercules (see 133–4n.).

591 fertur: takes up *fertur* applied to the lion in the simile (588) and thus closely links the two spheres. **intento ... arcu**: that Hercules moves around with his bow at the ready indicates that he is prepared to attack anyone who may have harmed Hylas. Yet Hercules’ weapon is without a target, just like the lion’s gnashing teeth. **decurrit** implies that Hercules is running down from the mountains. The last information given about his movements is that he ran *in iuga senta* (584) from the shore. Even though this phrase is rather vague, it suggests that Hercules was gaining height again, so that he can now come down once more. An indication of Hercules’ wild roaming without any direction (as implied by the emendation *discurrit*) follows (593–4).

592–3 heu miserae ... | ... uiris! The narrator exclaims in compassion for the animals and humans Hercules comes across. Grammatically the sentence consists of two asyndetic and anaphoric clauses, each depending on a nominative. This is only expressed once in the exclamative and elliptical main clause (*ferae*); the antecedent of the second *quibus* is in the dative, attracted to the case of the relative pronoun and included in the relative clause (*uiris*). The victims are characterized as *miserae* (agreeing with *ferae*) and *immericis* (agreeing with *uiris*); both descriptions are likely to apply to both groups and each has to be supplied with the other clause. The other elements mentioned within one of the clauses (*ille ... incidit usquam | ... per bustra*) also go with both parts.

593–4 uolat ordine nullo | cuncta petens: a vivid expression of the fact that Hercules runs swiftly through the entire wood but does not search in systematic fashion.

594–5 ad ripas deiectaque saxis | flumina: a river or rivers have not been mentioned as characteristic features of this region so far (only the sea and the pool). The expression suggests that the water comes down in force like a waterfall (cf. Auson. *Mos.* 247 *scopulis deiectas pronus in undas*); this might imply that Hercules is concerned that there could be a danger for Hylas. **notas** alludes to the fact that the woods are known to Hercules because he went through them when looking for his new oar and/or during his search for Hylas. There is no need to remove this notion by conjecture. **nemorum ... ad umbras:** the woods are ‘dark’ or ‘shadowy’ since by now it is after nightfall (575) or because it is generally dark in a wood.

596 rursus Hylan et rursus Hylan ... reclamant vividly illustrates how Hercules cries ‘Hylas’ again and again: the two words *rursus Hylan* are repeated with the same metrical pattern, and the combination of *rursus* and *reclamant* (a rare sense of *reclamo*; see Romeo 1907: 223) emphasizes the repetition. Hercules is still described as crying out for Hylas when the narrative returns to him at the beginning of book 4 (4.18–19). In Silius Italicus Hercules also calls out the name of a beloved he has lost (Pyrene), and this call is only echoed by nature (3.436–9), with the name repeated at the start of two subsequent lines; this scene might be influenced by VF (cf. Ripoll 1999: 510–11). An almost onomatopoeic representation of repeated calling by repetition of the name occurs elsewhere in poetry (e.g. Soph. *El.* 148, Virg. *G.* 4.525–6), particularly with reference to Hylas (Virg. *Ecl.* 6.43–4 *his adiungit, Hylan nautae quo fonte relictum | clamant, ut litus ‘Hyla, Hyla’ omne sonaret*, cf. Theoc. *Id.* 13.58–60, Prop. 1.20.49–50). Therefore the cry can also be seen as an echo of earlier texts (on this ‘echo’ see Barchiesi 2001a: 139–40, 2001b: 318–19).

597 responsant siluae: only the wood (probably poetic plural) responds to Hercules’ calling (i.e. by resonating with an echo), not Hylas himself. The verb may be inspired by Virgil’s *Aeneid* (12.756–7 *tum uero exoritur clamor ripaeque lacusque | responsant circa et caelum tonat omne tumultu*). When the name ‘Hylas’ is seen as connected with Greek *hyle* (ὕλη) or Latin *silua* (see 529n.), a reaction from the wood is an appropriate ‘answer’ to the cry (see Barchiesi 2001a: 140). In Propertius Hercules answers Hylas’ cry as he is drawn into the water; in return Hercules receives the echo of the name (Prop. 1.20.49–50 *cui procul Alcides iterat responsa, sed illi | nomen ab extremis montibus aura refert*). **certat** ‘contends’, ‘competes’; i.e. the echo competes with the original cries. **imago:** here ‘echo’, i.e. ‘a reflection

of sound’ (*OLD* 3b; cf. Lucr. 4.570–1, Hor. *Carm.* 1.12.3–4, Ov. *Met.* 3.385, cf. Serv. auct. ad Virg. *G.* 4.50 *quae Graece ἠχώ, Latine imago dicitur: Cicerō Tusculanarum tertio [Tusc. 3.3] resonat tamquam imago. hic autem sonus facit eas fugere*).

*E. The Argonauts’ reaction, their debate and decision
to leave (598–725)*

Initially the Argonauts wait faithfully for their missing companions, but, when Juno provides favourable winds, tempting them to sail off, and the helmsman Tiphys urges them to do so, Jason starts a discussion (598–616), presenting two options: to carry on with the enterprise or to wait and search. He reveals that in the past he has received an oracle to the effect that the Argonauts will lose the companion who is the greatest in arms before they reach the Clashing Rocks (617–27). In response, the majority of the Argonauts are keen to go (628–36). Only the pious Telamon entreats his companions to remain loyal to Hercules (637–45). By contrast, Meleager plays to the feelings of strength and desire for glory among the multitude and argues that it does not make sense to wait for Hercules (646–89). Another attempt by Telamon to remind his companions of their previous respect for Hercules is unsuccessful (690–716). The Argonauts depart, though several of them, including Jason, feel sad (717–25). When Hercules later sees the Argonauts travelling across the sea without him, he is hurt that he was left behind (4.56–7).

In AR the Argonauts set off immediately (also on Tiphys’ suggestion) and only realize that they have left behind some companions (Hercules, Hylas, Polyphemos) once they are in mid-sea (1.1273–83; cf. also Hyg. *Fab.* 14). A heated discussion ensues until the sea-god Glaucus emerges and tells them that leaving the three men behind is in line with Zeus’ plans (1.1284–325). Since in VF the absence is recognized before departure, the Argonauts are forced to decide what to do. Jason gives his companions the opportunity to discuss the options and make a decision, initiating a deliberative process rather than decreeing an outcome, although the structure of his speech implies his preferences (see 615–27n.; see Weber 1995: 59, Anzinger 2007: 179–83; for reminiscences of Virgil’s *Aeneid* see 481–740, 637–89nn.).

Jason’s reference to the oracle, along with the later authorial remark that in leaving without Hercules the Argonauts do what is fated (717), reveals that what seemed to be a personal affair of Juno’s is an element of the predetermined sequence (as in the Cyzicus episode: see 352–6, 461). Still, what gods and fate ordain again puts a strain on humans: not all Argonauts are happy with the decision (contrast AR 1.1329), and Meleager, who argued for moving on, will be punished (cf. 4.32–4).

These ramifications are shown by the length of the scene and by the emphasis on the different arguments and the fluctuation of the crowd rather than on the actual decision (criticized by Mehmél 1934: 36–7, see also Happé 1957: 196–7, Hull 1979: 385, who regards this as a ‘cumbersome episode’ in contrast to AR; see Intro. 2.5).

What the Argonauts have done is reproachfully called being ‘forgetful of their companion’ by Jupiter (4.6–7), although this is not what they have been in VF (in contrast to AR). Jason later describes this action as abandonment ‘driven on by guilty Furies’ (5.41–3); an indirect statement by the narrator reproducing Jason’s words characterizes the decision as an ‘unspeakable error’ (5.574). Immediately after departure Hercules continues to be uppermost in the minds of all Argonauts (4.82–4), and a song from Orpheus is needed ‘in solace for heaven’s destiny and life’s distressful miseries’ (4.85–7): just as with Mopsus’ ritual at the end of the Cyzicus episode (377–458), the Argonauts require support from one of their number with special faculties in order to move on (see also Koch 1955: 151).

1. The Argonauts’ first response to the absence of their companions (598–610)

With the statement that Hercules is gone to look for Hylas, the scene switches to the other Argonauts. The section first describes the feelings of the group (598–603) and then focuses on the leader Jason, who is thrown into a difficult conflict because of his love for Hercules (604–10).

598–9 at: see 74n. **sociis immota fides** ... | **certa:** despite favourable winds the Argonauts’ loyalty to Hercules initially remains unaffected (contrast 704). **austisque secundis:** the south wind (*auster*) frequently calls people to sea in literature; that it would favour onward travel is emphasized by *secundis*. The names of winds are sometimes used in poetry with little regard for the actual winds required (see 340–2n.). Here wind from a westerly or south-westerly direction (see 611n.) would enable the Argonauts to travel around the coast of Mysia towards the Bosphorus (Cavaglia; *contra* Soubiran). In AR the wind allowing the Argonauts to set off from Mysia is not defined (1.1273–5). **morae nec parvus Hylas** ‘and little Hylas is not the point of delay’. The construction of the transmitted text is complex and elliptical, but not impossible: the conjunction *nec* is postponed (see 44n.); *est* is to be supplied with a final dative. *morae* (cf. 613) starts a new phrase (see Schenkl 1871: 94–5), while *certa* goes with *fides* (for other solutions cf. e.g. Köstlin 1889: 660: *secundis*: | *causa morae est nec parvus Hylas*, Wagner 1863: 622: *fides, austisque secundis certa mora est non parvus Hylas* and app.).

600 rudimenta ‘first beginnings’ (*OLD* 3). The same word is applied to the dead Pallas by his father in Virgil’s *Aeneid* after Pallas has had his first taste of war (11.154–7 *haud ignarus eram quantum noua gloria in armis | et praedulce decus primo certamine posset. | primitiae iuuenis miserae bellicae propinqui | dura rudimenta*). It therefore may refer to Hylas’ first successes in war, just gained on Cyzicus (182–5): while these were appreciated by all Argonauts and suggested that Hylas would be an important comrade in future, now the main concern is for the loss of Hercules rather than of Hylas. Metrically, there is synizesis across a punctuation mark indicating a break in sense (Schenkl 1871: 92). **Herculeo sub nomine pendent** ‘they rely on the person of Hercules’ (*OLD* *pendeo* 13b). The phrase *sub nomine* in various senses is frequent; yet the construction *pendere sub* is unusual. *nomen* + adjective instead of the name of a person is a common periphrase. The phrase as a whole therefore stresses that the person of Hercules, regarded as an important element of the enterprise, is the key reason for the Argonauts’ lingering.

601 reposcere: a historic infinitive (see 63n.), like those in the following lines. **uotis** ‘prayers’ (*OLD* 2).

602–3 nunc ... | ... nunc: up to this point the narrative seems to have covered the day on which Hercules disappears and the following night, and Juno intervenes the next morning with an even more favourable wind (611–12). However, in view of Meleager’s later claims (see 652n.), it appears that some time passes until Juno’s initiatives. Hence the activities juxtaposed by *nunc ... nunc* could refer to an alternation over several days and nights. **longas ... uoces** ‘long-drawn (or: far-sounding) voices’ (*OLD* *longus* 13a; cf. *Aetna* 294 *longas emugit bucina uoces*), i.e. far along the shore. For *uoces spargere* (*OLD* *spargo* 2c ‘to emit in all directions’) cf. Val. Max. 7.2.ext.1a, Stat. *Theb.* 7.121 *terribilem ... uagas ululatum spargit in auras* and, with a slightly different sense, Virg. *Aen.* 2.98–9 *spargere uoces | in uulgum ambiguas* (see Kleywegt 1986: 2471). **seris ostendere noctibus ignes** ‘display fires (i.e. as signals) late at night’. When Hercules notices Hylas’ loss and starts his search, night is coming on (575): this detail therefore suggests that the Argonauts faithfully wait for Hercules until late at night on the day he disappears (see Gärtner 1998: 211), with *noctibus* understood as a poetic plural rather than referring to several nights (but see 612, 652nn.). **ignes:** for fires as night-time signals cf. e.g. Hom. *Il.* 18.207–13; see Longo 1981: 87–8.

604–5 ipse ... | ... ductor: Jason is singled out as the leader; still, he is as sad and loyal as his companions. When the Argonauts are devastated and unable to move on after the battle on Cyzicus, it is equally emphasized that the leader Jason joins in the general grief (369–71 with n.).

However, as on Cyzicus, when Jason asks Mopsus to arrange for a remedy (372–6), the phrasing here suggests that Jason is aware of the dilemma: he realizes that the good sailing conditions invite them to continue the mission, but his feelings of friendship prevent him from doing so immediately. **uel** ... | ... **uel**: the two objects that Jason may look at illustrate the two poles between which a decision will have to be made: the mountains, where the Argonauts suppose Hercules to be, denote the intention to wait or look for him; in the opposite direction, the sea with favourable winds indicates the option of continuing the journey. **cum**: a postponed conjunction (see 44n.). **densa silentia montis** ‘dense (i.e. deep) silence of the mountain’ (*OLD* *densus* 1b). **strata** ... **oblatis** ... **aequora uentis**: lit. ‘the sea made to subside by winds presenting themselves’, i.e. ‘the sea calm with favourable winds’ (*OLD* *sterno* 6b, *offero* 1c; cf. also 611–12). While such descriptions frequently refer to an expanse of calm water due to the absence of wind (e.g. *Ov. Her.* 7.49–50 *iam uenti ponent, strataque aequaliter unda* | *caeruleis Trilon per mare curret equis*, *Sen. Dial.* 6.17.2), here the sea is quiet with favourable winds (cf. 732 with n.): this is the essential feature creating the dilemma. **ductor**: this more elevated term for ‘leader’ (see Zissos on 1.164) is applied to Jason three times in this section (605, 711, 717), emphasizing that Jason is called upon to show leadership. When he gives his companions the opportunity to discuss the matter and then follows what the majority prefers, he demonstrates a kind of ‘democratic’ leadership.

606 lacrimans: for the sadness of a leader after a companion has been removed by divine intervention cf. *Virg. Aen.* 6.175–6 (on Misenus) *ergo omnes magno circum clamore fremebant, | praecipue pius Aeneas*. In AR Jason is sad after Hercules’ loss has been discovered in mid-sea (1.1286–9). **magnoque uiri** ... **amore**: in contrast to the fear of his companions (602), Jason’s concern for Hercules and his inclination to wait are determined by his affection for him. *amor* here denotes ‘love for one’s relations, friends, etc., affection’ (*OLD* 3a) rather than ‘sexual passion, love’ (*OLD* 1). **cunctatur** picks up the notion of *morae* (599, 613) from the sketch of the general situation. The personal phrasing and the choice of verb suggest greater responsibility of the men for this action (cf. 613 *cunctantes*) than the neutral impersonal wording. This indicates that Jason, as the leader, is expected not to indulge in grief and to take action instead (cf. 369–70).

607–10 illius ... | ... | ... | ... **nouercae**: Jason’s feelings of loss are expressed by his looking for (*OLD* *quaero* 2a) typical elements of Hercules’ gait, equipment and behaviour. **illius**: the second syllable is metrically shortened (*illius*), the standard pattern in VF (see Kōsters 1893: 83). **inter** ... **maestaeque silentia mensae** ‘among the silence of

the sad table’: now that Hercules does not tell any stories and the others are sad (transferred epithet), there is silence at meals (cf. 4.67 *aetheriae defensa silentia mensae*, *Stat. Silu.* 2.1.68 *maesta silentia mensis*). **proceres**: i.e. the Argonauts (cf. 2.347, 590, 5.386), elsewhere called *reges* (see 28–9n.). **inops** implies that Jason is unable to do anything to resolve the impasse. **ingenti comprehensa trahentem** | **uina manu** ‘drinking the wine grasped in his mighty hand’. With *trahentem* (*OLD* 7a), *uina* denotes the drink itself, whereas, with *comprehensa*, *uina* refers to the cup. Mighty Hercules was known to be drinking a lot of wine (cf. e.g. *Eur. Alc.* 756–60, 787–98, and pictorial representations: cf. *LIMC*, s.v. *Herakles* II H ‘Herakles symposiastes’). **durae** ... **monstra nouercae**: the ‘monsters’ of Hercules’ harsh stepmother are the beasts that Juno chooses for him as labours (see 511–12n.), mentioned in her earlier speech (510–18; cf. 5.43). The phrase *nouercae* | *monstra* appears in Virgil’s *Aeneid* in the summary of a song about Hercules’ deeds (8.287–9 *qui carmine laudes | Herculeas et facta ferunt: ut prima nouercae | monstra manu geminosque premens eliserit anguis*); there it refers to the serpents sent by Juno to Hercules when he was young. This incident is highlighted in Juno’s speech (515–16) as the start of her hitherto unsuccessful fight against Hercules.

2. Juno’s intervention (611–614)

The sketch of the Argonauts’ difficult situation (598–610) is followed by the presentation of an intervention of the *nouerca* Juno (610), who sends favourable winds (611–12). The impact is naturally strongest on the helmsman, who is keen to put an end to *mora* (613) and *otia* (614). Juno is characterized as *crudelis* (611; cf. 580 *saeuae*) since she enhances the Argonauts’ dilemma: whether to remain true to their enterprise or loyal to their companions.

611 nec minus interea: transition to the next scene (see 113n.; cf. *Virg. G.* 3.311, *Aen.* 6.212). **iapyga** ‘the WNW. wind, which favours the crossing from Italy to Greece’ (*OLD*). Since the south wind (*auuster*) is given as the wind suggesting departure to the Argonauts earlier and later in this scene (598, 652), the westerly wind is probably meant to be even more favourable (see 598–9n.) and thus to increase the pressure to move on (on the use of names of winds see also 340–2, 700nn.). **Iuno**: unusually Juno is depicted in a position to set winds in motion (see Ferner 1937: 98; cf. the more detailed description at 8.321–7). This may be based on a physical interpretation of Juno as the air (cf. *Serv. ad Virg. Aen.* 1.78 ‘*tu mihi quodcumque hoc regni rediit ad physicam rationem. nam motus aeris, id est Iunonis, uentos creat, quibus Aeolus praestet*’).

612 assidue ... primis cum solibus: Juno apparently sets the wind in motion during the night with continuous action and then has it blow upon the Argonauts at sunrise. This indication of time continues the narrative from the Argonauts' waiting until late at night on the day that Hylas and Hercules went missing, though retrospectively more than one night seems to have passed (see 602–3, 652nn.). *primis cum solibus* understood as a real (rather than poetic) plural would imply that Juno presents a favourable wind in the morning of several days before the Argonauts react. Good winds in the morning exert a particular pressure since this is the time for setting off (cf. 1–2; see Gärtner 1998: 211). **mouet** 'moves', 'impels' (because of *assidue*) rather than 'sets in motion', 'stirs up' (*OLD* 1, 8).

613 morae impatiens: cf. Luc. 6.424 *impatiensque morae*. The wide hyperbaton *impatiens ...* | *Tiphys*, with the agent revealed only at the start of the following line, creates tension. **cunctantes increpat ausus** 'he criticizes those who hesitate over their ventures'. *ausus*, if sound, is best interpreted as a noun in the accusative plural (*OLD* 'daring, initiative; (pl.) ventures'; cf. Petron. 123.183–4) and as a direct object of *cunctantes* (*OLD* *cunctor* 2c; cf. Stat. *Theb.* 3.718–19 *neu sint dispendia iustae* | *dura morae: magnos cunctamur, nata, paratus*); *cunctantes* (the fellow Argonauts) is direct object of *increpat*. Schenkl (1871: 100 n. 57) and Summers (1894: 73) interpret *ausus* as a participle (*contra* Watt 1984: 165); others have changed the text.

614 Tiphys is singled out because of his position of helmsman rather than a specific character trait. Similarly, he is the focus when the Argonauts are about to depart from Cyzicus for the first time (2). In AR it is also Tiphys who makes the Argonauts depart from Mysia, while the breezes have come without divine prompting (1.1273–5; cf. *AO* 649–52).

3. Jason's speech (615–627)

In reaction to Tiphys' pressure for departure (613–14), Jason, though sad like the others (604–10), initiates a debate (cf. 649–51; see Anzinger 2007: 173, 179–83, 185). By contrast, when reminded of his duties by Hercules on Lemnos (2.373–84), Jason proceeds to departure straightaway (2.384–92): Hypsipyle, with whom he had entered a relationship, criticizes that his stays are determined by the weather and not by considerations of what is right (2.402–8). In the Phineus episode, after Phineus' prophecy, Jason rushes his men to departure (4.626–7).

Jason's speech does not have a proper introduction or an analysis of the circumstances, but rather consists of a reference to an oracle, potentially relevant to the current dilemma (617–22), and an address to his men,

asking them to consider the situation and make a decision (623–7). According to this oracle, mentioned only here, it is fated that the companion 'greatest in arms', i.e. Hercules, will be left behind before the Argonauts reach the Clashing Rocks. Since the oracle does not specify a time, it is unclear whether this prediction will be realized at this point; besides Jason hopes that it may not become true at all. Accordingly, there is still a choice: use the favourable winds and continue the enterprise or wait looking for Hercules and gain a reward for spending time in this way. Jason presents the two alternatives without stating his preference explicitly, but the order of items and the phrasing imply that he favours the second one (*contra* Gärtner 1994: 119), to which he inclines because of his friendship with Hercules (see also Adamietz 1970: 35).

615–16 ergo introduces the consequences of Tiphys' pressing for departure (613–14). **animum flexus:** a passive participle with Greek accusative (see 61n.). **dictis instantis ...** | **concedit** 'he gives way to the words of him (i.e. Tiphys) urging'.

617 Scythicis ... terris: i.e. Colchis (see 306–7n.). **struerem ... funera** suggests that Jason was planning a deadly conquest of 'Scythia' (see 306–7n.).

618 uox ... Parnasia: i.e. Apollo's Delphic oracle. *Parnasus* is 'a mountain in Phocis, on the lower slopes of which Delphi was situated' (*OLD*). This is another reference in a speech by Jason to an oracle not mentioned elsewhere in VF (cf. 299–303 with nn.). Since VF tends to introduce details where they have the greatest impact in the narrative (see 25n.), the reference to the oracle need not be regarded as a sign of poor poetic composition or an unfinished work (thus e.g. Lüthje 1971: 118 n. 1, 124 n. 1, 134 n. 1; *contra* Adamietz 1976b: 460; see Intro. 2.2). Since Jason claims that he received the prophecy while preparing for the Argonautic journey, it has been assumed that VF presupposes an enquiry by Jason in Delphi before the start of the voyage, as in other narratives of the myth (cf. Dräger 1993: 344–55, esp. 352–3, 1998: 206–8, Groß 2003: 228–9). Such a context is not alluded to anywhere in VF's text. **tulerit:** an optative subjunctive after *o utinam*: the perfect (rather than the pluperfect) subjunctive 'expresses a wish that something may prove to have happened' (rather than expressing 'regret that something happened or did not happen in the past'; Woodcock §§115, 117): in Jason's view it has not been shown yet whether or not the oracle's prediction will come true. Because the oracle's characteristic vagueness allows him to continue to entertain hopes that Hercules might reappear (see Romeo 1907: 244), Jason can offer his companions a choice (623–7). If *tulerit* was understood as an equivalent of *tulisset* (thus Samuelsson 1899: 21, Liberman), this

would imply that Jason believed that the oracle was right. **sortes:** in the general sense of ‘an oracular response’ (*OLD* 3; cf. 301).

619 socium: genitive plural (*sociūm*; see 4n.) depending on *maximus* (Liberman) rather than accusative singular going with *hunc* (620). For a *socius* who is *maximus armis* (at the end of a line) cf. Virg. *Aen.* 2.339–40 *addunt se socios Ripheus et maximus armis | Epytus*.

620 Iouis imperiis fatoque ‘by Jupiter’s orders and by fate’: the two aspects of the forces influencing the lives of humans (see Intro. 2.5). **teneri:** a present infinitive used with reference to the future (see Samuelsson 1899: 48).

621 scopulis errantibus: i.e. the Symplegades, the Clashing Rocks (cf. 4.561 *errantes Cyaneas*), the most daunting obstacle during the sea voyage for the Argonauts. Jason only receives information about the Symplegades in Phineus’ prophecy (4.561–86), shortly before the Argonauts encounter them (4.636–710).

622 necdum ... auctor: since Jason has not yet received any confirmed rumour or more certain evidence (*OLD auctor* 7) about Hercules’ fate (on *necdum ... nec* see 317–18n.), he operates on the basis of the oracle, which predicts that Hercules will get lost without indicating the precise time. The wording recalls Virgil’s description of the arrival of bad news for Aeneas (*Aen.* 10.510–11 *nec iam fama mali tanti, sed certior auctor | aduolat Aeneae*), with the decisive difference that in that case the rumours are confirmed.

623 agite et: like the ‘funeral speech’ upon Cyzicus’ death (311–13), Jason concludes this speech with a direct address to his men and a call for action introduced by *age/agite*. These words often appear as independent interjections, directly followed by another imperative (cf. 7.93–4), but they can be linked to subsequent imperatives by *et* (cf. 7.467, 8.41–2, Virg. *Aen.* 5.58, 635; see Romeo 1907: 254). **dubiis ... curis** ‘with doubt and concern’. **uariant quia pectora:** Heinsius’ *quia* is the most plausible restoration of the transmitted *qui* (see White 2007: 256–7). With this text, the clause gives a reason for Jason’s subsequent suggestion. *uariant* indicates that in Jason’s view the Argonauts fluctuate between different opinions (*OLD uario* 5b; cf. Virg. *Aen.* 12.223 *uulgi uariare labantia corda*).

624 consulite ‘take counsel’ (*OLD* 3a): the request to take thought introduces two options (*seu ... seu*). With the widely accepted text, each of these options consists of a condition followed by a consequence. Yet, while the superficial structure is parallel, the train of thought and the manner of expression are not: the first *seu*-clause describes the weather

conditions; the subsequent imperatives indicate the action to be taken as the consequence and continue the series of imperatives. The second *seu*-clause makes a new start and directly gives the other option for action; the consequence emphasizes its value (see also Liberman). **motis ... flatibus** ‘after the blowing (i.e. of winds) has been set in motion’ (cf. 611–12). Jason does not know that this is due to Juno; he can only observe the phenomenon. **uia ... urget:** a metaphorical and impersonal phrase, emphasizing that the thought of the journey is a driver.

625 reuocate ‘renew’ (*OLD* 12b).

626 pluris: supply *est* (genitive of price), governing an infinitive. For the combination of a present and a perfect infinitive, both depending on an impersonal expression, cf. e.g. 681–2, 7.208–9. The perfect infinitive implies that the action is completed in the sense of a Greek aorist, i.e. that the Argonauts will again have gone and searched for Hercules (cf. 601–3). **tolerare moras:** contrasts with Tiphys’ attitude (613 *morae impatiens*).

626–7 propinquis | ... iugis: an ablative of place, without preposition in poetic usage (see Woodcock §51 (iv)).

4. Attitude of the Argonauts (628–636)

In response to the alternatives presented by Jason (623–7), the men, or at least the majority (631), immediately ask for departure (628–9). With great self-esteem they boast of their descent and strength and are confident that they can bear the loss of a single member (629–32). This description of the Argonauts’ attitude (esp. 631, 632) and the simile (633–6) illustrate their failure to consider dangers for which they will want Hercules’ support (cf. 4.247).

628 dixerat marks the end of Jason’s speech (see 456n.). **studiis ... freta** ‘confident in their zeal’ (*OLD studium* 1). Shackleton Bailey’s (1977: 206) *fluxa* does not seem necessary; referring *freta* to the ‘kindness ... of the Mysians’ (thus White 2007: 257) is difficult in terms of both language and content. **iuuentus:** most likely a general reference to the Argonauts (cf. 1.599, 4.655, 668, 7.556), who tend to be depicted as young, rather than specifically denoting the younger ones.

629–30 unum in the emphatic initial position signals an emphasis on numbers rather than on an individual’s worth. **nec minus ... potentes:** *minus* takes *generis* as a partitive genitive (‘less of noble lineage’) and functions as an adverb with *potentes* (‘less strong’). **generis:** many Argonauts are sons of gods like Hercules (see 504–5n.). **dextrasque potentes:** for this phrase at the end of a line cf. Virg. *Aen.* 7.234 *dextramque potentem*.

631 pars maxima: qualifies the description: there are different opinions; yet the view presented is that of the majority. **flatu** ‘boasting, pride, vainglory’ (*OLD* 4; cf. 699).

632 uana gliscunt praecordia lingua ‘the hearts swell with vain talk’ (*OLD* *glisco* 4, *praecordia* 3).

633 saltibus . . . mediis: an ablative of place (Mozley; indicating the setting) or of the starting point (Liberman; implying that the animals have hidden in the woodlands). **ut:** postponed introduction of a simile (633–6) comparing the behaviour of three animals: hind, boar and she-bear (see Shey 1968: 98, Gärtner 1994: 119–22; cf. Stat. *Theb.* 11.27–31 *indomitos ut cum Massyla per arua | armenti reges magno leo fregit hiatu | et contentus abit; rauci tunc comminus ursi, | tunc auidi uenere lupi, rabieque remissa | lambunt degeneres alienae uulnera praedae*, with Massylus appearing at VF 3.728; also Ach. 1.464–6 *socioque timore | mansuescunt: simul hirtus aper, simul ursa lupusque | cogitur et captos contempsit cerua leones*). Like weaker animals fearful while strong opponents are present and becoming emboldened once these have withdrawn, the Argonauts gain pride after the strongest companion has disappeared, underestimating the continuing challenges. After *flatu* (631) and *uana* (632), the simile suggests that the power the Argonauts are proud of is not real strength. Shey (1968: 98) believes that leaving Hercules will embolden the Argonauts as part of their growing-up process. In any case the simile is about their perception of themselves and does not focus on constant rivalry with Hercules (*contra* Gärtner 1994: 121–2). **tum demum:** taken up by *tum* (634) and looking forward to *cum* (635).

634 gestit ‘it exults’ (*OLD* *gestio*² 3); cf. 633 *laeta*. **reboatque** ‘it calls or cries in answer’ (*OLD* b).

635 ursa: female bears were regarded as particularly courageous (Plin. *HN* 11.263 *mares in omni genere fortiores sunt praelequam pantheris et ursis*). **Martia tigris:** this collocation, characterizing the tiger’s aggressiveness, is not attested elsewhere; it may have been developed from similar phrases for wolves (e.g. Virg. *Aen.* 9.566 *Martius . . . lupus*).

636 tacitus: the lion is no longer to be feared since he has withdrawn into a cave and fallen silent, as the lion’s roar is an element of attack (e.g. Virg. *Aen.* 9.339–41, 12.6–8).

5. Telamon’s and Meleager’s speeches (637–689)

The Argonauts’ first reaction (628–36) to Jason’s invitation to consider the options (623–7) sets the scene for a discussion: two men, Telamon and Meleager, function as mouthpieces, each defending one of the

alternatives in a kind of rhetorical agon (637–89), the only one on the human level in VF. Telamon, a particular friend of Hercules (see 637–9n.) and introduced as *pious* (637), supports remaining loyal and waiting. His arguments are given in summary in indirect speech, including comments on his feelings and behaviour (637–45); Telamon gets another utterance in direct speech later (697–714).

Telamon’s view is set against one of the longest speeches in VF (645–89): Meleager, though confirming his loyalty to Hercules, argues for moving on after an already long wait, since it is uncertain whether Hercules will ever come back and the other Argonauts are equally strong and have joined the enterprise not with the purpose of being idle. The arrangement of the speech, which resembles a rhetorical *suasoria*, means that there is a constant juxtaposition of Hercules and the other Argonauts, including Meleager, and their respective qualities (see also Happle 1957: 189, Garson 1963: 265–6). The speech ends with an emphatic appeal to accept Hercules’ loss as something inevitable and, it is implied, to leave (688–9).

While Telamon’s characterization is brief and straightforward (637–9), Meleager is introduced as energetic and persistent, but supporting the wrong causes: he follows *deteriora* and *inuersa* and is not open to *aequa* or *recta* (645–9 with nn.). This presentation influences the perception of his speech, even though, while emotional to some extent, it is well structured and not abusive (Shey 1968: 99–104 even interprets the speech favourably). When Hylas (in a dream) later reports the events to Hercules, Meleager’s behaviour is described in negative terms and future punishment is announced (4.32–4 *hortator postquam furiis et uoce nefanda | impulit Oenides. uerum cum gente domoque | ista luet saeuaeque aderunt tua numina matri*); this connection is not found in other accounts of Meleager’s death, for which various versions exist (e.g. Ov. *Met.* 8.270–546). The prospect that the person preventing the Argonauts from waiting or turning back for Hercules will be punished may have been adapted from AR, where this applies to the sons of Boreas (1.1300–9). This probably indicates that, even though Meleager argues for what is fated, he displays questionable moral standards in supporting it (see Intro. 2.5).

In AR a quarrel arises at sea once the Argonauts notice that they have left companions behind (1.1284–6); Jason does not participate in this argument (1.1286–9). Telamon is the key figure: full of wrath, he accuses Jason of leaving Hercules behind and announces his intention to go back (1.1289–97). He urges a return to the shore, but the sons of Boreas prevent it (1.1298–301). The troubles are resolved by the appearance of the sea-god Glaucus (1.1310–28); thereupon Telamon and Jason are reconciled (1.1329–44).

Meleager does not feature in AR: his role is unique to VF. In the catalogue Meleager is introduced as equal in strength to Hercules (1.433–5; cf. also AR 1.196–8, 3.518–20). Hence there is a basis for his claim that others are comparable to Hercules and a motivation for his desire to take Hercules' position (on Meleager see Zissos on 1.433–5, Garson 1963: 265–6, Schenk 1986: 19–30, Kleywegt 1991: 232–5).

Meleager's role may be inspired by Drances in Virgil's *Aeneid* (11.336–446; see Schenk 1986): Drances is rich and good at arguing, though he is a coward in war and has an obscure origin on the paternal side. This turns him into a more disreputable character than Meleager, and he issues an immediate challenge to which the leader responds directly. Closer to Meleager is the role of Dasius in Silius Italicus' *Punica* (13.30–83): like Meleager he is a descendant of Oeneus (via Tydeus and Diomedes), he comes from a well-respected family and is rich (13.33 *laetus opum*; cf. VF 3.659); he is introduced equally ambiguously as *prauum decus* (13.30) and having questionable morals (13.33 *clauda fides*). By a long speech against attacking Rome (13.36–81) the leader (*ductor*) is overwhelmed (13.82–3 *his fractus ductor conuelli signa manipulis | optato laetis abitu iubet*), and this has an effect on the group. The figure of Varro in Silius Italicus is also comparable (8.242–79): he is introduced as a man of obscure birth and inconspicuous in war, but rich and able to stir up trouble by his speeches to the people; in the Punic War he argues against delay, blaming Fabius, and rushes the army to battle. An unsympathetic figure criticizing the leaders already appears in Homer's *Iliad* in the shape of Thersites (2.212–77). However, his role is different since Thersites is characterized negatively and as socially inferior; he does not find the support of the group and is brought to order by the leader with the approval of others (but see Shey 1968: 103–4).

637–9 at ... | ... | ... questu: a sequence of three main verbs linked by *-que*, proceeding from a description of Telamon's feelings to his reaction towards his companions and the gods. Each phrase characterizes his utterance in a different way; together they illustrate the full range of feelings and the corresponding tone of his intervention (cf. the introduction to his second speech at 696). **at** introduces the opposition to the majority opinion (628–36). **pius ... Telamon:** Telamon (see 198n.) is a particular friend of Hercules: *pius* refers to this relationship and the resulting loyalty (cf. 722 *pius Aeacides*). **ingenti ... fluctuat ira** vividly describes that Telamon is angry and upset at the views expressed by others (*OLD fluctuo* 3a; cf. Virg. *Aen.* 4.532 *magnoque irarum fluctuat aestu*, 8.19, 12.527 *fluctuat ira intus*). In AR too Telamon's intervention is motivated by anger (1.1289). The combination of *pietas* and *ira* also characterizes Aeneas in Virgil's *Aeneid* 12 (12.175, 311, 946). **fremitu** 'an

inarticulate expression of disapproval or impatience, grumbling, muttering' (*OLD* 2). **furens periuria:** this reading (Köstlin 1880: 425) is the most plausible restoration of the transmitted variants: *furens* continues the idea that Telamon is in a rage; that he accuses his companions of *periuria*, since they want to leave (628–9), agrees with his later criticism of their lack of *fides* (704) and his own characterization as *pius* (637). Yet the definition of the Argonauts' behaviour as *periuria* is Telamon's interpretation since no actual oaths have been sworn.

640–1 idem in emphatic position underlines that the same person pursues two contrasting ways of behaviour, alternating between ferocious argument and appeals. **orans:** for this element in attempts at persuasion cf. 8.285–6 *dixerat atque orans iterum uentosque uirosque | perque ratis supplex*. **prensatque ... demissaque:** the double *-que* connects the two main verbs, each further qualified by a participle or adjective. **prensatque uiros** 'he buttonholes the men' (*OLD preso* 2). **demissaque supplex | haeret ad ora ducis:** Telamon also tries to win the attention of the leader Jason by almost literally 'clinging' to him (*OLD haereo* 4a). *demissa ... ora* reinforces that Jason is downcast in view of the available options and the feelings of his comrades (604–10).

641–2 nil se ... | ... quocumque: Telamon's speech, supporting an individual, starts with a denial of a conflict of interest as a *captatio beneuolentiae*; he claims that his argument does not apply specifically to Hercules but would be valid for any companion. By contrast, the group was said to feel that one person missing would not make a huge difference (629–31).

642 gemens can be understood as governing the preceding or the following section of indirect speech or, in a looser way, both (*OLD* 4b; cf. 2.552–3 *iam maestus equos, iam debita posci | dona gemit*). What follows is the actual lament; at the same time, after the vague introductory phrases, the participle helps to characterize the entire sequence as indirect speech.

642–3 quamquam introduces an objection, explaining why the argument is specific to Hercules after all. The clause (with a form of *esse* to be supplied) is best understood as another main clause (see Summers 1894: 73–4, Morel 1938: 66). **fama:** the character of the places and peoples the Argonauts are going to encounter is known by 'rumour' since nobody has ever travelled there from Iolcos. **iam ... iamque** 'now ... now', 'first ... then' (*OLD iam* 1d), suggesting that there will be a constant series of dangerous places and peoples. **loca:** on the form see 538–40n.

644 non ... non: two anaphoric and asyndetic phrases emphasize the speaker's key argument. **alium** equals *alterum* (see 314n.). That Jason

will not have ‘another Hercules’ might be reminiscent, by contrast, of Aeneas having to confront ‘another Achilles’, i.e. Turnus (Virg. *Aen.* 6.89–90 *alius Latio iam partus Achilles, | natus et ipse dea*). **contra:** against *aspera* ... | ... *loca* ... *-que feras* ... *gentes* (642–3) mentioned in the preceding clause (see Morel 1938: 66). **pectora tanta** ‘such a great chest’ (concrete; *OLD* 1a) and also ‘such valiant strength’, in metonymical sense, developed from the chest ‘considered as the front of the body which is turned to meet danger, etc.’ (*OLD* 2b).

645 rursus ‘on his part’, ‘in his turn’ (*OLD* *rursus*, -um 4), marking the transition to the next speaker. **instimulat** ‘he urges’ (cf. 2.133–4; first at Ov. *Fast.* 6.507–8, *Met.* 14.495). **fauentes** ‘those favouring’, ‘those taking the side of’ (*OLD* 3), i.e. supporters of the course of action Meleager champions (cf. 628–32).

646 magnanimus: Meleager’s characterization starts with this positive epithet, a standard attribute of heroes (see 243–4n.), and continues with a negative description of him as a citizen. There is no need to remove this tension by emendation (Postgate 1900: 257–8: *magnanimis*). **Calydone satus:** i.e. Meleager, who comes from Calydon, a town in Aetolia (cf., on Tydeus and Meleager, 4.223 *Calydonis alumni*, 5.573 *ingentes Calydonis alumnos*; for the phrasing cf. 4.249 *satus aequoreo* ... *rege*, Stat. *Theb.* 5.436 *prolem Calydone satum*).

646–7 potioribus ... | deteriora fouens: either ‘fostering worse things over (or: instead of) better ones’ (Kleywegt 1986: 2468, Spaltenstein; cf. Ov. *Met.* 7.20–1 *uideo meliora proboque, | deteriora sequor!*) or ‘supporting the worse cause by the better reasoning’ (Ellis 1880: 56, Liberman, Dräger; cf. Prot. VS 80 B6b ... τὸν ἥττω ... λόγον κρείττω ποιεῖν). The first interpretation (with a comparative construction) is preferable since then two phrases on the same level are juxtaposed, and it is a description of a moral attitude, like the corresponding elements in the sequence, rather than of rhetorical technique. The various conjectures proposed do not make the construction easier, or they change the sense.

647 inuersa ‘perverted things’, ‘things that have been turned from good to bad’ (*OLD* *inuerto* 2a).

648 durus ‘persistent’ + infinitive; a rare construction (but cf. Hor. *Sat.* 1.4.8 *durus componere uersus*, Virg. *Aen.* 7.806–7 *proelia uirgo | dura pati*). **aequis:** *aequum* in the sense of ‘fair or equitable action(s); considerations of fairness or equity’ (*OLD* 3b) appears in the plural (more common in the singular), presumably because of the other plurals in the sequence and in order to strengthen the notion that no instance of *aequum* has an effect (see Merone 1957: 13–15).

649 rectorumue ‘of right things’ (genitive of *recta*, neuter plural), similar to *aequis* (648).

649–51 non Hercules ... | sed tuus ... | ... honor ‘respect not for Hercules, but for you’: *Herculis* is an objective genitive with *honor* (*OLD* 1a); it contrasts with *tuus*, a possessive pronoun equivalent to an objective genitive in the case of personal pronouns. *Herculis* and *tuus* start the two contrasting phrases, with the main noun on which they depend delayed until the end of the sentence. **adempti** ‘taken away’, ‘removed’ (*OLD* *adimo* 1b). **in seros haec nostra silentia questus | traxit** ‘it has prolonged our silence here into late expressions of dissatisfaction’ (*OLD* *traho* 16). The intervention occurs ‘late’ because, out of respect, the men have kept silent until Jason granted them the opportunity for discussion. It is ‘too late’ from the speaker’s point of view since they should have taken advantage of the favourable winds long ago. In Virgil’s *Aeneid* Drances opens his speech by acknowledging the opportunity given (11.343–5; see 637–89n.).

651 dum ‘until such time as’ (*OLD* 5b). **iura dares ... tempora fandi:** in this two-part expression *dares* and *fandi* are each to be supplied to the other part as well. The collocation *iura dare* typically means ‘to prescribe laws’ (*OLD* *ius*² 3b) but here has the sense of ‘to give the right’ (*OLD* *ius* 11; cf. Sen. *Dial.* 3.8.1 *iusque illi aliquod uoluntate nostra datum est*, Luc. 1.2 *iusque datum sceleri*). For *tempora fandi* cf. Virg. *Aen.* 4.293–4 *quae mollissima fandi | tempora*.

652 septimus ... auster: initially the Argonauts seemed to wait during the evening and the night after Hercules and Hylas had gone missing despite good winds (598) until Juno presented them with an even more favourable wind in the morning (603, 611–12). Now Meleager claims that the Argonauts have been waiting during seven days of good wind. This could be understood as an exaggerated round number since Meleager is presented as believing that the Argonauts have waited too long, and VF is not too concerned about a precise itinerary (see Intro. 2.3). Still, the wait (until Juno interfered) now seems to have lasted for longer than one day. That Meleager refers to the original *auster* (598), rather than the *iapyx* sent by Juno (611–12), suggests that he thinks of the entire time since Hercules and Hylas got lost (on the chronology see 602–3, 612nn.). At any rate it is unlikely, in the absence of any indications in the text, that the seventh day is meant to mark the accession of Vespasian, with the six days spent waiting representing the principates since Augustus (thus Taylor 1994: 226). **hic** ‘here’: stresses that the good conditions continue and no movement has taken place. **descendit** ‘it is coming down’ (*OLD* 2a); cf. 1.686 *mollis Zephyros descendere lapsu*, 7.25 *grataque iam fessis descendunt flamina remis*.

653 Scythicis ... oris: i.e. Colchis (see 306–7n.). **forsan:** the suggestion bears no relation to the actual time needed to get from Mysia to Colchis. **statuisset** ‘it would have placed’.

654–5 nos ... | gaudia: waiting in Mysia will not only not get the Argonauts to Colchis but will also delay their getting home afterwards. Meleager insinuates that, in contrast to Hercules, the rest of the Argonauts can expect joys upon their return. **patriae immemores:** when the Argonauts are unable to move on after the battle on Cyzicus, Jason identifies being ‘forgetful of home’ as one of the characteristics of their condition (375–6). The words used for ‘home’ on both occasions (*lar* and *patria*) have a Roman ring (cf. also 367; for the phrasing and comparable thoughts cf. Virg. *Ecl.* 1.3). **sed duro saevae sub rege Mycenae:** what Hercules can expect upon return, unlike the other Argonauts, are labours ordered by king Eurystheus in the city of Mycenae. Hercules is thereby implicitly put into a different category, and it is suggested that his aims may not agree with those of the others. This prospect does not contradict the fact that elsewhere in VF Hercules is presented as having completed the twelve labours (see 511–12n.): only because Hercules has been working for Eurystheus can Meleager envisage this situation.

656 ad medium ... iter ‘towards the middle of the journey’, not literally but approximately, implying that it makes no sense to stop now that the Argonauts are halfway there.

656–60 si ... | ... | ... | ... | ... locis: Meleager turns from a general ‘we’ to a personal argument: he would not have bothered to go on the Argonautic journey if he was happy with sitting around: then he would have retained the safety and power of his ancestral kingdom (cf. Aeneas’ similar argument at Virg. *Aen.* 4.340–4, where, however, the decisive force consists in the fates). At Lemnos Hercules cannot bear waiting idly any longer and urges the Argonauts to carry on with their journey and the great deeds they were expecting (2.373–84). As a result of Meleager’s comparable reasoning here Hercules will be prevented from taking part in the adventures he is eager for.

656 finibus ullis ‘in any region’ (see G–L §317).

657 has ... moras et inania tempora: lit. ‘these delays and the empty time’ (hendiadys), i.e. ‘this time spent idly by waiting in vain’ (see 660–1; cf. Virg. *Aen.* 4.433 *tempus inane peto, requiem spatiumque furori*).

658 Calydon: see 646n.

659 laetus opum pacisque meae ‘delighting in the riches and my peace’. For *laetus* with genitive (*OLD* 4) cf. Virg. *Aen.* 11.73, Sil. 13.33 *laetus opum*

(see 637–89n.). **tutusque manerem:** by staying at home Meleager would have avoided the dangers of the Argonautic enterprise, but tragic irony may be implied: in some versions of the myth Meleager dies when his mother, angry about his killing her brothers, throws the log of wood, which guarantees his life, into the fire (e.g. Ov. *Met.* 8.445–525).

660 quis ... locis: i.e. *quibus* (see 318n.) ... *locis:* an ablative of place without preposition (see 626–7n.), with the antecedent attracted into the relative clause (with a verb to be supplied). **genitor materque:** i.e. Oeneus (cf. 690 *Oenides* with n.) and Althaea. **deside terra:** an adjective transferred from human to thing; cf. 5.148 *deside mitra*, Stat. *Silu.* 4.7.19 *desides Baiae*.

661 uacuos cur lassant aequora uisus? ‘Why do the seas weary our empty gazes?’ The wording (cf. 1.707–8 *uisu lassatur inani | omnis eques*) stresses that the Argonauts are wasting their time in incessantly staring at the sea, which does not lead to any result (*OLD* *uacuos* 4a).

662–3 tu ... | ... tu ... pharetras? After two questions addressed to the Argonauts, Meleager turns to Jason: he questions Jason’s hopeful waiting and the expectation that Hercules will continue to be with them beyond Mysia. The clause consists of two parts (accusative with infinitive), both depending on the verb *rere* (= *reris*); a future infinitive (*fore*) has to be supplied to the second part. *pharetras* picks up *Alciden* (i.e. Hercules; see 65–7n.) by one of this characteristic attributes. **Phasidis ... arua:** i.e. Colchis (see 306–7n.).

664–5 ea fax odiis ‘not such (i.e. so small) a torch does her hatred have’ (*est* supplied with both parts of the clause). The transmitted text (*fax* often changed to Heinsius’ *pax*) can be kept if *ea* is understood as ‘*ita parua*’ (Pius) or ‘*non ea quam credis*, sc. *sed multo maior*’ (Spaltenstein); the force of Juno’s hatred is not so limited that she would allow Hercules to carry on as an Argonaut. The mention of *fax* assimilates Juno to a Fury, for whom this is a standard attribute (cf. e.g. Sen. *HF* 100–1, *Med.* 15, *Oed.* 161). **oblitaue ... | ... sui:** the second part expresses a similar notion more concretely: Juno will remain true to herself (cf. Virg. *Aen.* 3.628–9 *ne talia passus Vlixes | oblitusue sui est Ithacus discrimine tanto*). **numine fesso** ‘with her divine power exhausted’, part of the negated clause and therefore not yet the case: Juno will carry on with attempts to trouble Hercules. The phrase recalls *numine laeso* in the proem of Virgil’s *Aeneid* (1.8), also indirectly about Juno, and is reminiscent of Juno’s description of her activities against Aeneas (7.297–8 *at, credo, mea numina tandem | fessa iacent, odiis aut exsaturata quieu*). Further, it alludes to Hercules’ characterization of his and Juno’s state in Ovid’s *Metamorphoses* (9.198–9 *defessa iubendo est | saeva Iouis coniunx, ego sum indefessus agendo*). **Iuno:** on the scansion see 487n.

665–6 noua ... | ... **Argis**: elaborating on the preceding general claim, Meleager suggests that Hercules might have gone off to confront further labours, ultimately sent by Juno. This can be extrapolated from Hercules' known history; it may also be a reference to AR, where Hercules is 'to go and toil again at Eurystheus' labours' (1.1347–8) after Hylas' loss, since he had interrupted these duties to join the Argonautic enterprise (1.122–32). **noua Tartareo** ... **semine monstra**: further monsters of the Tartarean kind Hercules has already fought (on Hercules' labours see 511–12n.; cf. Juno's intention to engage the underworld at Virg. *Aen.* 7.312). **fors**: adverbial in the sense of *forsitan* ('perhaps'), with indicative; cf. 4.620 *fors etiam optatam dabitur contingere pellem*. **Inachiis** ... **nuntius** ... **ab Argis**: a call from king Eurystheus, whom VF has just located in Mycenae (655). Both Hercules (1.107–8 *protinus Inachiis ultro Tirynthius Argis | aduolat*) and Eurystheus (5.487–8 *suus ut magnum rex spargit ab Argis | Alciden, Sthenelo ipse satus*) are elsewhere associated with *Argi*. *Argi* and *Argos* not only refer to Argos, another town in the Argolis, but can also denote the entire area and even the whole of Greece (e.g. Hom. *Il.* 2.108, 287). The phrase (in the same metrical position) comes from Virgil's *Aeneid* (7.286 *Inachiis* ... *ab Argis*), where it refers to Juno, just before she sets in motion the course of events leading to Ascanius' killing the stag (see 481–740n., Intro. 3.1). **Inachiis**: in Greek mythology Inachus is both the main river and an ancient king of Argos (4.397, 5.209); his offspring includes Io (4.350, 357).

667 haec magni proles Iouis: i.e. Hercules, identified by his divine father (cf. 4.1–2).

667–8 at: with paratactic, contrasting clauses Meleager points out that the Argonauts could do without Hercules, since there are other descendants of gods among them. The argument that some heroes will not be available, but others will, including the speaker, is reminiscent of Turnus' speech in the altercation with Drances in Virgil's *Aeneid* (11.428–44; see 637–89n.). **Pollux | stirpe pares Castorque**: the twin sons of Tyndareus (187) can equally claim descent from Jupiter according to most traditions (see 186–7n.). These two are singled out since they have a double lineage like Hercules. Pollux will take Hercules' place in the fight against Amycus (4.222–51), when the Argonauts regret Hercules' loss (4.247).

668–9 at takes up the preceding *at* (667), adding the second clause asyndetically and anaphorically, rather than linking it to the preceding item by *et*. **cetera diuum | progenies**: many Argonauts are sons of gods (see 504–5n.). A verb has to be supplied: *manet* or *est*.

669 nec ... **gentis**: Meleager now refers to himself, with a more indirect and paraphrastic though no less self-confident expression, voicing pride in his lineage (cf. Ov. *Her.* 17.123 *non est tanta mihi fiducia corporis*). He does not claim to have descended from gods, yet still to have a noble lineage, putting him on a par with the sons of gods (on his descent cf. 660, 690 with nn.).

670–1 en egomet: an emphatic deictic phrase introduces Meleager's elaboration of his own worth, his fighting prowess and his willingness to take on the greatest tasks, in contrast to Hercules' absence (670–2). **uocas**: Jacobs' correction of a corrupt passage (*uoces quae tegmina*). While the subjunctive in indefinite relative clauses becomes more frequent in post-classical Latin (see G–L §625 r. 4; cf. 4.47), the indicative is the norm in VF. **sequar** emphasizes (plausibly restored) that, in contrast to Hercules, Meleager will remain with the Argonautic enterprise. **agmina ferro | plura metam** 'I will mow down with my sword quite a few battle lines.' This expression of the intention of utter and widespread destruction is a condensed reworking of Virg. *Aen.* 10.513–14 (on Aeneas) *proxima quaeque metil gladio latumque per agmen | ardens limitem agit ferro*, and it picks up the description of Jason on the battlefield (157 *transcurrens demetit ense*). *plura* (often emended) can be understood in comparison with Hercules ('more than him'; thus Courtney in app., Spaltenstein; *contra* Ellis 1908: 48) or in absolute sense indicating a large number ('more than one'; thus Liberman). *agmina* is a plausible emendation by Heinsius (on the text see e.g. Ellis 1908: 48, Howard 1956: 164–5).

671–2 dicta 'designated' (*OLD dico* 11) agrees with the nearest noun (*manus*, *OLD* 6) but is also valid for the second phrase introduced by *tibi* (*dictum est* to be supplied). **quicquid in ipso | sanguine erit**: lit. 'whatever will be in my blood itself', i.e. 'all my strength'. *ipso* emphatically juxtaposes the internal strength of the entire body with a particular part used for fighting.

672 iamque hinc 'hence' (*OLD hinc* 8a) 'now' (*OLD iam* 1b): after Meleager has explained his readiness to fight for Jason with full strength, he demands the greatest challenges. **operum quae maxima posco**: lit. 'I demand those of the tasks (partitive genitive) that are (supply *sunt*) greatest (or: hardest)'.

673 scilicet: after having outlined his own position, Meleager comments ironically (*OLD scilicet* 4) on (possible) arguments of opponents: Meleager doubts that it is worth waiting for Hercules as if their welfare depended solely on his fighting (contrast 642–5). **profugi** 'fugitive',

‘runaway’: this term, added from Meleager’s perspective, puts Hercules’ disappearance in a negative light (cf. Theoc. *Id.* 13.73–5).

674–5 nempe ... | ... nempe: Meleager continues to question, in an ironic affirmation (*OLD nempe* 1 ‘without doubt, of course, to be sure’), that all the other men are equally mortal, by pointing to them (*ecce*), and calls to mind that they have been working efficiently and harmoniously as a group. **mortalia:** emphatic after Meleager’s claim that many Argonauts are descended from gods (667–9). **ibant ... remi:** because they are all equally strong, the Argonauts have been rowing with equal rhythm so far.

676–7 uel ... turbidus ... | uel ... tumens: after a highlighted *ille* (= Hercules) at the start of the line, Meleager envisages two alternative reasons (*uel ... uel*) for Hercules’ separation (some kind of madness or pride in his own achievements). **insano ... aestu** suggests that Hercules has long been deluded by some ‘mad passion’, which, in Meleager’s view, prevents him from focusing on the joint activities. For readers this could be an implicit reference to Hercules’ madness at another point in his career, as described, for instance, in Seneca’s *Hercules furens* (cf. also 4.5 *furit*, with Murgatroyd *ad loc.*). **consortia famae** ‘partnership in glory (or: renown)’ (*OLD consortium* 2a).

678 ferri ... abnuat: *abnuo* construed with infinitive (*OLD* 2c).

679 uos, quibus et uirtus: for almost the same phrase at the beginning of a line in a call to set off cf. Hor. *Epod.* 16.39 *uos, quibus est uirtus*. **uos:** Meleager turns from Jason to all companions, while also creating a contrast to Hercules. **in limine primo:** lit. ‘just at the threshold’, i.e. ‘in early youth’; cf. 1.823–4 *primoque rudem sub limine rerum | te, puer*. Like *iuuentus* (628 with n.), this characterization most likely applies to all Argonauts.

680 tendite: in the sense of ‘to direct one’s course, proceed (to a stated or implied destination)’ in absolute and intransitive use (*OLD* 8). **rerum patiens calor** ‘passion enduring circumstances’: in their youth the Argonauts not only have the strength for great deeds, but also the readiness to endure anything (cf. 1.271 *omnibus inde uiae calor additus*).

680–1 rude ... | robur ‘budding strength’ (*OLD rudis* 3); for the thought cf. Hor. *Epod.* 13.4 *dumque uirent genua*.

681–2 nec ... | ... iuuenta: according to Meleager the Argonauts should move on and finish this job, so that they have time to do other things in their youth, rather than wasting the entire time on this single

exploit. **nec enim:** only twice in VF (also at 6.488); *neque enim* is more frequent (see Zissos on 1.166–7). **dare funera Colchis:** again the enterprise is described as a military exploit (cf. 306–7n.). For the phrasing cf. Virg. *Aen.* 12.383 *ea dum campis uictor dat funera Turnus*. **tota ... iuuenta** ‘throughout your entire youth’ (ablative of time within which; see G–L §393). **pelagus lustrasse:** the key element of the Argonautic journey according to Jupiter’s plans, followed by war (1.531–60); in Meleager’s argument it is introduced as a second point after conquering Colchis and not given a specific purpose (as the Argonauts are unaware of Jupiter’s plans).

683 spes has a point of reference different from *spes* a few lines above (679): Meleager’s hope of finding Hercules. After the explicit encouragement to follow their own interests, Meleager counterbalances this appeal by emphasizing that there is no lack of loyalty to Hercules in him. For the construction cf. Virg. *Aen.* 11.312–13 *potuit quae plurima uirtus | esse, fuit*; prosaic word order might be: *spes mihi fuit quae tali casu longissima esse potuit*.

684–5 quiscumque: i.e. *quibuscumque*, with *siluis* (on *quis* for *quibus* see 318n.). **uirum:** i.e. Hercules. **egit amor:** for the construction ‘subject + *agere* + infinitive’ applied to an emotion provoking action cf. Virg. *Aen.* 7.393 *ardor agit noua quaerere tecta*, Stat. *Theb.* 3.625–6 *me uester amor nimisue arcana profari | Phoebus agit*, 8.262–3. **loca:** on the form see 538–40n. **uociferans:** an action applied to all Argonauts earlier (602–3). **reliqui** ‘I have not ignored’ (*OLD* 10a).

686 nunc quoque: even now that they have stopped looking for Hercules and Meleager doubts his return, he allegedly would like him to reappear. This is at odds with his previous claims about Hercules’ motives and his own aim to become one of the foremost heroes but designed to prevent his appearing as a disloyal opponent of Hercules. **dum uario nutat sententia motu** ‘while my opinion wavers with varying movement (of the mind)’ (*OLD motus* 4), i.e. between loyalty and the desire to move on.

687 deuexis ... montibus ‘from mountains sloping downwards’; an ablative of the place whence, poetically used without a preposition. **redeuntem:** supply *Herculem*.

688–9 sat lacrimis comitique datum: a call to action, indicating that their duty has been done: cf. Virg. *Aen.* 2.291 (Hector speaking) *sat patriae Priamoque datum*, 9.135 (Turnus speaking) *sat fatis Venerique datum*. **sor-tibus aevi** ‘fortunes of life’; a similar phrase appears elsewhere only at Sil. 13.517 *sors ... aevi*. **crede:** Meleager concludes the speech with another address to the leader Jason (imperative in relative clause). To facilitate the

decision, Meleager suggests that one should think of Hercules as someone lost by a natural cause or death in battle. **in mediae ... sanguine pugnae** 'in bloodshed in the middle of a fight'.

6. Effect of Meleager's speech and Telamon's reaction (690–716)

In response to Meleager's speech the Argonauts are excited and wish to leave (690–2). Only Telamon is said to wonder at the behaviour of his companions and consider withdrawing from the group (692–5). However, he decides to make another effort and to demonstrate the consequences of their planned action (696–714). The emotional speech with its many questions and exclamations is rhetorically effective, even though it does not present a coherent argument. Since Telamon sheds tears and shows his grief during the speech (715–16), he seems to have realized that effectively a decision has been made, and his initiative is presented as futile from the start (696–7).

While Telamon's intervention does not affect the Argonauts' decision after Meleager's fiery speech, it underlines the themes of loyalty and of the loss of Hercules' strength. Subsequent events will show the problematic nature of the decision of the majority, who are governed by momentary feelings rather than by loyalty or a serious assessment of their combined strengths and weaknesses.

690 talibus: i.e. *dictis* (supplied from the following sentence). **Oenides:** i.e. Meleager, son of Oeneus, king of Calydon (AR 1.190–4; cf. VF 3.646, 658; for this patronymic cf. 4.33, 6.343).

691 Argoa: an adjective derived from *Argo* (see 3n.). **iubebat:** the imperfect suggests repeated interventions.

692 uincla rapi: lit. 'the (mooring-)ropes be gathered quickly'. Hylas later describes the Argonauts' departure with the same words (4.31 *iam socii laetis rapuerunt uincla uentis*; cf. AR 1.1276–7). **Calais:** that this Argonaut, one of Boreas' sons (cf. AR 1.211–23), is singled out recalls the role of the brothers Calais and Zetes in AR: there they prevent the Argo from turning round to go back to Mysia as Telamon wishes, once the Argonauts have noticed Hercules' absence in mid-sea; hence, later, they will be killed by Hercules (1.1298–309; cf. Hyg. *Fab.* 14.18, Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.15.2). In Propertius Calais and Zetes attempt to rape Hylas while he is fetching water (1.20.25–30). Calais is here named for the first time in VF, at a point where he appears without his brother (cf. 1.468–9, with Zissos *ad loc.*). **furias ... ouantum** 'the frenzy of the jubilant men', describing the Argonauts' feelings from Telamon's point of view (on the form *ouantum* see 206n.). A similar contrast between the eagerness of *iuuentus* (cf. 628) and the sadness of *patres* is indicated in Virgil's *Aeneid*

when a messenger reports the approach of the enemy after the altercation of Drances and Turnus (11.451–4).

693 Aeacides: i.e. Telamon, son of Aeacus (cf. 715, 722, AR 1.90–4).

693–4 multusque uiri cunctantia corda | fert dolor, an 'enormous grief carries along the man's hesitating heart, as to whether'. This clause (*OLD fero* 2b) governs an indirect question introduced by *an* because it implies a notion of doubt (G–L §457.2) or because *an* replaces *num* (G–L §460 n. 1).

694–5 sese comitem ... | abneget 'he should refuse to be a partner'. Cf. Hor. *Carm.* 1.35.22 *nec comitem abnegat*. **celsi ... petat ardua montis:** if Telamon withdrew from the Argonautic enterprise, he would move away from the shore into the mountains, where the Argonauts suspect Hercules to be. In Virgil's *Aeneid* a similar phrase describes Hercules' movements (8.221 *et aerii cursu petit ardua montis*).

696–7 tamen: although Telamon is almost convinced that a decision has been reached and has moved on to consider his own position, he still makes another effort to persuade his companions to adopt a different course of action. The characterization of his utterance as *gemitus et ... iras* implies that it is an emotional outburst rather than a proper argument, and *inanes* indicates that the attempt will be without effect (cf. Virg. *Aen.* 10.758 *di Iouis in tectis iram miserantur inanem*). **gemitus et ... iras | fundere:** an unusual phrase, apparently developed from the common *uoces fundere*.

697 terris ... Achaeis: Telamon laments that, if the Argonauts leave without Hercules, this will be a terrible day for 'Achaean lands', i.e. 'Greek lands' (a Homeric phrase: cf. Hom. *Il.* 1.254), the Argonauts' home country (*OLD Achaeus* 2). This endows the event with wide-ranging implications, which can be explained as the character's exaggeration to increase the impact on the immediate audience. For readers this indicates that in the ensuing conflict in Colchis Jason will lack a strong fighter and be made to accept Medea's help; as a consequence he will eventually take her with him to Greece, which in turn will lead to conflicts between Asia and Greece (1.531–60). Such developments are also alluded to elsewhere where the term *Achaeus* is used with reference to the Argonautic expedition and its consequences (esp. 6.45–6). *Achaeis* and *Colchi* are here placed emphatically at the ends of consecutive lines. **pro Iuppiter** 'by Jupiter' (*OLD pro*² 1a).

698 saeui ... Colchi: Telamon describes the people in Colchis as terrible enemies, who will benefit from Hercules' absence, thus emphasizing the disadvantage the Argonauts are creating for themselves. For readers

this anticipates the situation that Aeetes will indeed be hostile and the tasks set for Jason can only be accomplished because Juno enlists Medea's help.

699 tum: at the beginning of the Argonautic voyage, when the men were about to leave from Iolcos. **flatus ... superbia:** according to what the poet has just said, Telamon is right in observing that this proud spirit was not noticeable before: it only emerged after Hercules, the strongest hero, had disappeared (cf. 631–6). When the Argonauts are full of fear upon approaching the Clashing Rocks, Jason tries to revive their courage by reminding them of their *promissa superba* (4.647–50).

700 litore ... patrio: i.e. Iolcos (ablative of place). **petentibus:** the winds are described as making for the sails, eager to start off navigation (OLD 1c). **austri:** at the Argo's departure (1.350–1), *zephyrus* is mentioned, but the names of winds do not seem to be always used precisely and consistently (see 340–2n.). Then too a decision to depart benefiting from the wind is eventually taken although it means leaving beloved families behind.

701 cunctus ad Alciden uersus fauor: an allusion to an element of the myth narrated by AR, but not by VF (see Zissos 1999: 295–6): prior to the departure from Iolcos Jason asks the crew to elect a leader; the men unanimously turn to Hercules, but he declines in favour of Jason, who happily accepts (AR 1.329–62; cf. also AO 280–302, Ant. Lib. *Met.* 26, Diod. Sic. 4.41.3, Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.9.19). In VF Jason is the unquestioned leader from the start. As elsewhere, VF alludes to a feature of the myth where it makes an impact and not where it might fall chronologically (see 25, 618nn.). Here this reference supports Telamon's argument and serves to illustrate the crew's change of mind; at the same time, in this subdued form and at this stage, it does not diminish Jason's position.

701–2 ipse ... | ipse: the emphatic repetition demonstrates the expectations of the others with respect to the single individual. **iuuaret** 'he should give aid': apparently the leader, especially Hercules, is also seen as a supporter of his men. The imperfect subjunctive (jussive) is used because thoughts or utterances of the Argonauts in the past are rendered in indirect speech, loosely depending on the preceding phrase (where *erat* is to be supplied). **ducis:** a term normally used for Jason, the actual leader in VF. **meritosque ... honores** implies that in the past the Argonauts accepted Hercules' achievements without envy.

703–4 iamne ... | dextera? Telamon claims in ironic questions that the Argonauts now regard themselves as equal to Hercules in courage, descent

and valour. This is perhaps not literally true, but the narrative suggests that they feel stronger after the disappearance of the valiant hero (cf. 631–6). The tricolon consists of two shorter parallel phrases and a final, longer one with a different construction (supply forms of *esse* in all parts): *uulgi* (with its negative connotations) refers to the other Argonauts in opposition to Hercules; *aeque* picks up *pares*, *dextra* is a collective singular, perhaps influenced by *uulgi*, while *animis* and *gente* alternate in number. Although it may be said that Hercules' courage and strength surpass those of the other Argonauts, his descent is less unique, since other Argonauts are also sons of Jupiter or at any rate of gods (see 504–5n.). **inclita ... | dextera** 'renowned right hand'. For 'fame' attached to the right hand cf. Virg. *Aen.* 7.474 *claris dextera factis*, Sil. 15.258 *Laelius ante omnes, cui dextera clara domusque*.

704 nulla fides, nulli ... fletus? With a further question of two anaphoric halves and alliterative nouns, Telamon challenges the lack of loyalty to Hercules (contrast 598–9).

705 nunc ... nunc ... proles? In another question (also with two anaphoric halves) Telamon wonders whether he should now accept as leaders (*dux*) those who argued against waiting for Hercules (645–89, 691–2). Meleager has just claimed that he is as strong and noble as Hercules, but has not demanded a position of leadership: Telamon goes further and expresses a possible inference from Meleager's behaviour. **Porthaonides:** i.e. Meleager, son of Oeneus, son of Porthaon (a patronymic derived from the grandfather, like Alcides (see 65–7n.)). The form is attested in Latin only here, but Parthaon (an alternative version of the Greek name Porthaon) is associated with Meleager's family in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (8.542–3, 9.12). **Thracia proles** 'the Thracian offspring', i.e. Calais and/or Zetes, Boreas' sons (see 692n.). The wind Boreas is associated with Thrace, where his sons were born (AR 1.211–23).

706 aspera ... leones? With an illustration from the animal world (cf. 633–6) Telamon describes the Argonauts' behaviour: for him the Argonauts' reaction implies a complete and impossible reversal and is therefore incomprehensible.

707–11 hanc ego ... | ... | ... | testor: Telamon concludes with a solemn oath, opened by an extended description of the item by which he swears. This alludes to an oath of king Latinus in Virgil's *Aeneid*, which in turn goes back to an oath of Achilles in Homer's *Iliad* (Hom. *Il.* 1.233–9, Virg. *Aen.* 12.206–11 '*ut sceptrum hoc*' (*dextra sceptrum nam forte gerebat*) | '*numquam fronde leui fundet uirgulta nec umbras*, | *cum semel in siluis imo de stirpe recisum* | *matre caret posuitque comas et brachia ferro*, | *olim arbos, nunc*

artifices manus aere decoro | inclusit patribusque dedit gestare Latinis; see Garson 1969: 363-4, Fuà 1988: 47). In these two passages the item is a sceptre, and there is a description of its change of appearance and use, as it has been transformed into an artful object of power and legitimacy. In VF it is a lance and a spoil, which has nothing to do with the traditions of the community, and it is now used for war. Virgil has made the description of the removal of the piece of wood from the tree emphatic by inserting a reference to the 'mother'; VF picks this up, as well as the notion of the 'shadow' (along with reminiscences in wording). In Virgil the oath concerns the positive confirmation of a treaty between Aeneas' men and the Latins, which brings the wars in Latium to a conclusion; in Homer Achilles announces that the Greeks will one day miss him. So, for the context, VF follows Homer, although here it is not the future desire for the speaker himself that is announced. But like Achilles, VF's Hercules is the strongest hero (see also 644n.), and the pledge comes within a discussion among the group. AR has a similar confirmation (on the part of Idas) by a spear at the start of the journey; this is used for a proud pledge of support and fighting prowess (1.466-71). **Didymaonis**: the name of the person from whom the lance was taken as a spoil is an addition by VF. The name seems to have been inspired by Virg. *Aen.* 5.359-60 *clipeum efferru iussit, Didymaonis artes, | Neptuni sacro Danaids de poste refixum*. Didymaon's characterization as *magnanimus* (see 243-4n.) increases the value of the object from him. **neque ... frondes uirides nec ... umbras**: lit. 'neither green leaves nor shade', i.e. 'no shade created by green leaves' (hendiadys). **euulsa iugis** 'having been torn from the ridges' (cf. Virg. *Aen.* 2.631 *iugis auulsa*). The phrasing suggests a violent action and recalls Hercules' uprooting the tree for his oar (565-6). **matre perempta** 'destroyed with respect to its mother', i.e. removed from its mother and thus deprived of life. For a tree as a 'mother' cf. e.g. Virg. *G.* 2.23, [Ov.] *Nux* 13-14, Coripp. *Iust.* 2.78-83. The phrase (in the same position) appears elsewhere in Virgil's *Aeneid*, where it is applied to a human mother (10.315 *inde Lichan ferit exsectum iam matre perempta*). **fida ministeria et duras obit horrida pugnas**: lit. 'it takes on trusty service and harsh battles, being rough'. **testor et ... omni ... numine firmo** 'I swear and confirm by every divine power': in addition to the elaborately described object by which Telamon swears (707-10), this emphatic double expression and the reference to the gods increase the solemnity of the oath. This is a fuller version of the more common formula *testor deos* (e.g. Cic. *Clu.* 194, Sall. *Iug.* 70.5, Virg. *Aen.* 4.519). The collocation may have been inspired by Virg. *Aen.* 12.188 *ut potius reor et potius di numine firment*, where the gods form the subject, or Ov. *Met.* 10.430 *promissaque numine firmat*. **ductor, tibi**: Telamon addresses Jason as

ductor. This term is applied to Jason elsewhere (e.g. 605); there does not seem to be a difference in sense from the preceding *dux* (702, 705). The warning is addressed to Jason, whom Telamon, like Meleager, regards as a key player in the decision-making and as representing the enterprise.

712 in tenui discrimine rerum: lit. 'in a narrow critical point of affairs', i.e. 'in a critical (or: decisive) situation with a small margin (i.e. of getting things right)' (*OLD* *tenuis* 4, *discrimen* 4, *res* 17; cf. 1.217-18 *per quot discrimina rerum | expeditior!*, Virg. *Aen.* 10.511 *tenui discrimine leti*).

713-14 Herculeas ... opes ... | arma: this poetic paraphrase for 'Hercules' stresses that Hercules' strength and fighting power will be sought. The Argonauts miss Hercules when they are faced with the fight with the giant Amycus (4.247 *redit Alcidae iam sera cupido*). **spretique ... | ... uiri**: Telamon interprets the Argonauts' intention to leave without Hercules (*uiri*) as an indication of disrespect as they wrongly do not appreciate his worth. Meleager's speech (649-89) provides the basis for such assumptions when he claims that Hercules is not needed and other Argonauts are equally valiant. **uocabis**: since Jason has not argued for leaving Hercules behind, it may be unexpected that Telamon focuses the future yearning for the lost Hercules on him. Either Telamon singles Jason out paradigmatically as the leader (cf. 711), or this is a reminiscence of AR, where Telamon first reproaches Jason and they are later reconciled (1.1289-95, 1329-44). **arma uiri**: the word order has these two words stand next to each other at the beginning of the line, always a pointed collocation (cf. Virg. *Aen.* 1.1), here perhaps highlighting Hercules as the epic hero. Such juxtapositions occur elsewhere in VF though the words do not always form a syntactical unit (2.392, 4.8, 5.115, 5.582-3, 6.80, 6.582-3).

714 nos: although Telamon foresees the implications of Hercules' loss and is not in favour of leaving him behind, he includes himself when describing the Argonauts' future helplessness since the consequences will affect the entire group. **tumida haec ... dicta**: the proud utterances of others, as represented by Meleager (645-89). He in turn alleged that Hercules might be swollen with pride (676-7). The contrast between blown-up speech and active strength is a major theme in Turnus' answer to Drances in Virgil's *Aeneid* (11.378-91; see 637-89n.).

715 Aeacides: i.e. Telamon (see 693n.). The phrase *talibus Aeacides ... terroribus urgens* as the closure of the speech corresponds to the comment after Meleager's speech (690 *talibus Oenides urget*), although *urgens* is a participle here and *talibus* is qualified by a noun. **terroribus** 'terrifying prospects', characterizing Telamon's speech.

716 multaue comas deformat harena: a sign of grief (cf. e.g. Hom. *Il.* 18.23–4, Catull. 64.223–4, Virg. *Aen.* 10.844 *canitiem multo deformat puluere*, Ov. *Met.* 8.529–30, Stat. *Theb.* 3.50–1). That Telamon shows his grief while still arguing may indicate that he has acknowledged defeat and grieves at Hercules' loss (cf. 696–7).

7. The Argonauts' departure and their feelings (717–725)

Telamon's speech (696–714) has no effect, and the Argonauts stick with the decision not to wait any longer, rushed on, as the poet says, by 'the fates' and 'the eagerness of the men' (717–18). Hercules' disappointment at being abandoned is described later (4.56–7 *nec minus et socios cernit procul aequore ferri | praecipites tacitumque pudet potuisse relinqui*).

Once the Argonauts have left and they realize fully that they are without Hercules, they start to feel grief again (719–21; cf. 601). Already in mid-sea, they even call the names of the missing companions once more (724–5; cf. 601–3). This continues the psychological study: the Argonauts appear confident of themselves in the debate; when the empty space on the ship demonstrates that they are without Hercules, their confidence wavers. The subdued description of the Argonauts' departure in VF contrasts with the atmosphere in AR (see Garson 1963: 263): there the Argonauts leave without three of their companions, without realizing it (1.1273–83), and then learn from Glaucus that the three men were left behind according to Zeus' counsel (1.1310–28); hence the Argonauts rejoice (1.1329).

For Jason in VF it could be argued that the oracle did not give him any choice, but this aspect is not highlighted. What is pointed out is Jason's grief at abandoning a companion and his disappointment that he cannot persuade the crew of his views. While he is the leader, he follows the wishes of the majority. This has been seen as a weakness (e.g. Groß 2003: 211), but it can also be regarded as a characteristic of a democratic leader. At the same time this reaction means that Jason obeys the fates; nevertheless, he feels guilty. Yet actual guilt on the human level is only attributed to Meleager (cf. 4.32–4; see Schönberger 1965: 126, Anzinger 2007: 181).

717–18 fata trahunt raptusque uirum certamine ductor | ibat: the narrative continues with the Argonauts' departure, implied in *ibat*, referring to the *ductor* Jason. The reason for the departure consists in both *fata* (as indicated by the oracle, 617–22) and Jason's being 'carried on by the eagerness of the men'. The phrase *fata trahunt* recalls the famous Stoic doctrine given in Seneca (Sen. *Epist.* 107.11 *ducunt uolentem fata, nolentem trahunt*; see Intro. 2.5).

718 obtenta mulcebat lumina palla 'he soothed his eyes with the mantle drawn before them' (*OLD* *mulceo* 3a; cf. 1.132 *deiecta in lumina palla*, Stat. *Theb.* 12.469 *obtenta submittere lumina palla*).

719 ingenti repetuntur pectora luctu 'their hearts are assailed again by immense grief' (*OLD* *repeto* 2c); the 'hearts' represent the 'men' as *pars pro toto* (cf. Stat. *Theb.* 5.686 *tanti premerent cum pectora luctus*, for the recurrence cf. Ov. *Met.* 5.473 *repetita suis percussit pectora palmis*).

720 sedere: i.e. *sederunt*, best interpreted as perfect of *sedere* in the sense of 'to come to rest, stick, lodge, settle' (*OLD* *sedeo* 9a). The perfect indicates the completion of a process: the Argonauts are seated. **locis** 'in their places' (*OLD* 5).

720–1 nullaeque leonis | exuuiæ: supply *sunt*; on Hercules' lion-skin cf. 511–12, 567 with nn. **tantique:** an epithet transferred to his seat on the rower's bench from Hercules. **uestigia transtri** 'his accustomed spot on the rower's bench'; *uestigia* denotes a place frequented by someone and therefore reminding of them (cf. Sil. 6.458–9 *intulit ut gressus, certatim uoce manumque | ad solitam sedem et uestigia nota uocabant*).

722 pius Aeacides: i.e. Telamon (see 693n.); cf. 637 *pius ... Telamon*. **Poeantia corda:** i.e. the heart of Philoctetes, son of Pocus (adjective instead of genitive of a person; see 284–5n.). Philoctetes, who is an Argonaut only in VF (see Kleywegt 1991: 226 and n. 10, Zissos on 1.391–3), is known to have had a special connection with Hercules as the introduction in the catalogue (1.391–3) reveals (the only other reference to him): *tu quoque Phrixearum remo, Poeantie, Colchos | his Lemnon uisum petis, nunc cuspide patris | inclitus, Herculeas olim moture sagittas*.

723 frater cum Castore Pollux: see 186–97, 186–7nn.

724–5 omnis ... Alciden ... | omnis Hylan: at the close of the scene, the perspective again widens from individual examples of Argonauts who have special reasons for particular grief to all Argonauts (lit. including even Meleager) and to both Hercules and Hylas. The (useless) calling of names as the ship moves away from the shore picks up Hercules' looking and calling for Hylas (596–7) and the Argonauts' earlier search for Hercules (602–3, 685). **adhuc** 'still' (*OLD* 3a): the Argonauts continue to call the names although they are already at sea. **pereunt iam nomina:** Ehlers' (1985: 343) emendation of the transmitted *pereuntia* involves only a slight change and yields a vivid description in a straightforward construction, instead of an unclear participial phrase (cf. Ov. *Fast.* 4.486 *alternis nomen utrumque perit*).

F. Closure: Hercules in distress (726–740)

The book closes with an elaborate description of nightfall (726–32) and a tableau of Hercules' helplessness, concluded by an illustrative simile (733–40). The beginning of night suggests that this is the end of the day on which Juno sent the favourable wind. This agrees with the earlier mention of nightfall and sunrise (603, 611–12) and with the fact that the Argonauts travel through the night after leaving (4.82–3). How this relates chronologically to the 'seven days' mentioned by Meleager (652) remains open (see 652n.). That the description of the onset of night moves from the sea-god Phorcys gathering his herd of seals to herdsmen on land creates a transition from the Argonauts at sea to Hercules still on the Mysian shore. The appearance of this sea-god might be inspired by the presence of the sea-god Glaucus in AR (1.1310–28). The sketch of evening activities with daily tasks coming to an end suggests an atmosphere of quiet, in contrast to the emotional distress of both Hercules and the Argonauts (see also Venini 1972: 15, Gärtner 1998: 211).

The final image of Hercules is one of loving loyalty, but also of utter desperation (733–6). Correspondingly, the closing simile features a strong lioness worn away by grief and pain because of the loss of her offspring (737–40). This shows Hercules overwhelmed by grief, and it does not imply that he has 'rejected' the Argonauts (thus Shey 1968: 104–5) or depict him displaying virtue of the spirit (thus Toohey 1992: 200). In AR Hercules is left in a rage after Polyphemus has told him about Hylas' disappearance (1.1261–76); the subsequent narrative focuses on the other Argonauts. It has therefore been suggested that VF's book 3 ends with a 'false closure' since readers would not expect the episode to continue in book 4 with a divine scene, not attested elsewhere (Murgatroyd on 4.1–81; see also Mauerhofer 2004: 210–11). There may be an element of surprise at how the story continues in book 4. However, that the narrative returns to Hercules at the end of book 3 already goes beyond AR and might suggest that there is more to come (especially since there are not normally complete episode breaks at book ends in VF).

726 interea: see 113n. **toto ... aequore** 'over the entire sea' (cf. 8.103–4 *nec me tua sibila toto | exagilent infesta mari*).

727 Phorcys: a sea-god and master of the creatures in the sea (e.g. Virg. *Aen.* 5.239–40, 823–4, Plin. *HN* 36.26). Already in Homer he is called 'the old man of the sea' (*Od.* 13.96, 345); besides, *pater* is an 'honorific appellation of various gods' (*OLD* 6a). **immanes ... phocas** 'huge seals' (cf. Virg. *G.* 4.394–5, 429–32). **intorto murice:** lit. 'with the

twisted shell of the shellfish yielding a purple dye', i.e. 'with a trumpet of twisted shell' (*OLD* *murex* 2a). Appropriately, the marine herdsman uses a suitably formed shell as a wind instrument.

728 contrahit 'gathers together' (*OLD* 4a). **antra petens:** in the evening Phorcys guides his animals home to the stables as it were. The same activity is applied to other inhabitants of the sea at 1.134–6 *hanc Panope Dotoque soror laetataque fluctu | prosequitur nudis pariter Galatea lacertis | antra petens*.

728–9 simul et ... et una | ... et indicates the simultaneous activity of all groups mentioned. **Massylus:** the Massyli were a people in Numidia (modern Algeria); in poets the adjective often appears with the more general meaning of 'African' (*OLD*). See 633n. **Lyctius:** someone from Lyctos, a town on Crete; the word is often used more generally for 'Cretan' in poetry (*OLD*). **Calabris ... aruis** 'from the fields of Calabria (see 581–3n.)': for the third item in the sequence there is a variation in construction (the indication of the location and direction of movement implied in *aruis* and the characteristic *armentarius* applies to all three elements). The three geographical names seem not to carry specific meanings, apart from the fact that these places are located towards the west from the Argonauts' point of view, so that they may be associated with sunset. Primarily, they are used metaphorically (as collective singulars) to illustrate the effect of evening all over the world. **armentarius** 'herdsman' (from *armentum*); rare in poetry, but cf. Lucr. 6.1252–3 *pastor et armentarius omnis | et robustus item curui moderator aratri*, Virg. *G.* 3.344 *armentarius Afer*.

730–1 ilicet 'at once', 'straight away' (*OLD* 3); marks a sudden switch from day to night. **extremi ... litore solis:** i.e. the furthest point in the sun's course, where it sinks into the sea (cf. Sil. 14.147 *Herculeas extremo sole columnas*). **nox ... | condidit:** supply *tenebris* (cf. Sil. 1.556–7 *nox tandem optatis terras pontumque tenebris | condidit*, also Luc. 1.15, 4.472–3). **Hiberas | ... domos:** as the Iberian peninsula is in the west with respect to the rest of the Mediterranean, it seems to have been seen as the place where the sun is last before it turns night. **sustulit:** based on the notion that at night the sky lifts up the stars from a lower position during the day (*OLD* *tollo* 3a). **axis:** in the broader sense of 'sky' (*OLD* *axis* 5; cf. Virg. *Aen.* 4.481–2, 6.796–7).

732 flumina conticuere 'the rivers have fallen silent' (*OLD* *conticesco* 1b; cf. Ov. *Mel.* 5.574 *conticuere undae*); suggests complete calmness of the natural world. **iacet cum flatibus aequor** 'the sea, along with the winds, lies calm' (*OLD* *iaceo* 8). The wording might suggest that there is no movement of either sea or winds and ships could only move forward with toilsome

rowing (cf. e.g. Virg. *Aen.* 7.27–8 *cum uenti posuere omnisque repente resedit | flatus, et in lento luclantur marmore tonsae*). However, the Argonauts continue to travel on swiftly during the night (4.56–7 *nec minus et socios cernit* (i.e. Hercules) *procul aequore ferri | praecipites*). Unless this is accepted as poetic licence or a slight inconsistency, the phrase probably means that the sea is calm with favourable winds (cf. 605).

733–5 Amphitryoniades ... | ... | ... **uidet**: a description of Hercules' helplessness immediately follows the sketch of a quiet evening atmosphere. Grammatically, the main clause governs four indirect questions (the first three linked by *nec*, the fourth one added by *aut* as it is closely connected to the preceding one). **Amphitryoniades**: i.e. Hercules, called by a patronymic derived from the name of his alleged mortal father Amphitryon (cf. 1.375, 635). **lustra** 'the haunts of wild beasts; (vaguely) rough or wooded country, wilds' (*OLD lustrum* 2). This wording indicates that Hercules is thinking of again searching the woods where Hylas got lost. **parenti**: if the background story as narrated in AR is presupposed (see 481–740n.), this term must refer to Hylas' mother (see Gärtner 1994: 123 n. 66, Liberman in corrigenda, Dräger versus Hershkowitz 1998a: 151 and n. 176, who believes that the 'poet is displaying once again his power to alter aspects of the Argonautic saga'), since Hercules has killed Hylas' father (AR 1.1212–20; cf. also Drac. *Hylas* 159–63, Prob. ad Virg. *G.* 3.6). Hercules' considerations may allude to Nisus' concern about the grief he might have to convey to Euryalus' mother (Virg. *Aen.* 9.216–18 *neu matri miserae tanti sim causa doloris, | quae te sola, puer, multis e matribus causa | persequitur, magni nec moenia curat Aestae*, cf. also 9.284–302, 473–502) or to Aeneas' worries when he has to bring the dead Pallas home to his father Euander (Virg. *Aen.* 11.53–7; see also Hershkowitz 1998a: 154). **socios qua mente reuisat** 'with what frame of mind he should return to his companions'.

736 urit amor: Hercules' love for Hylas (see 481–740n.) drives him on. The notion of *amor* is continued at the beginning of the following book (4.2 *nati ... pios ... amores*; cf. Virg. *Aen.* 5.296 *Nisus amore pio pueri*) and reinforced by an echo of the description of the plight of a lover in Virgil's *Eclogues* (2.68 *me tamen urit amor: quis enim modus adsit amor?*). **solisque ... siluis**: the woods are 'lonely, deserted' (*OLD solus* 3), since Hercules is on his own. There might also be the connotation of a transferred epithet in predicative function (*OLD solus* 1): 'he refuses to leave the woods while alone (i.e. without having found Hylas)'. The phrasing is taken up at the beginning of the next book (4.5): *haeret inops solisque furit Tirythius oris*. In Hercules' interpretation Hylas will be *solus* in this area (4.52): *solus et hos montes desertaque lustra tenebis*.

737 non aliter introduces a simile illustrating Hercules' situation, who is sad and unsuccessful in his search, but does not move away (see Gärtner 1994: 122–5, Hershkowitz 1998a: 154–5, Pice 2003: 217–18, Sanna 2006: 637–8). Ending a book with a simile is unusual (only here in VF), but elsewhere VF closes scenes with a simile (see e.g. 359–61; see Pice 2003: 208). The simile of a lioness, whose young have been taken away, is frequent in Latin poetry, but the specific version in VF seems to be without parallel. **gemitu** 'out of grief for' (+ genitive). **quondam**: this indication of time has the simile appear as a narrative of a one-off incident. **lea** 'lioness'. A different lion simile illustrates Hercules' searching for Hylas in Theocritus (*Theoc. Id.* 13.61–3). **prolis ademptae**: as the lioness grieves about her lost offspring, so Hercules does with respect to his 'son' Hylas (see 481–740n.; for the phrase cf. 649 *Herculis ... adempti*). Similarly, Achilles' grieving about Patroclus' loss is compared to a lion whose offspring has been taken away (Hom. *Il.* 18.318–22).

738 terga dedit: sedet inde uiis: the transmitted text is difficult (and has sometimes been emended); it can be taken to mean that the lioness has turned her back but has not moved away (like Hercules): she now sits on the roads, looking for her lost offspring and watching the suspected perpetrators, living in *castella* (739).

738–9 longo | peruigilant ... metu 'they keep watch all night in long-lasting fear' (*OLD peruigilo* b; cf. 93–4 *pendent mortalia longo | corda metu*).

739 castella 'strongholds' (*OLD* 1c; cf. Cic. *Rep.* 1.3), i.e. the people in the strongholds.

739–40 dolor ... | ... luctu: although the lioness is strong and causes fear, she shows signs of pain and grief; therefore she is miserable and pitiable. **dolor attrahit orbes** 'pain contracts the eyes' (*OLD attraho* 4c). The detail of narrowing the eyes occurs in Homer in another lion simile for another reason (*Il.* 17.136; cf. also Stat. *Silv.* 2.5.15). **misero manat iuba sordida luctu** 'the unkempt mane flows in miserable grief'; i.e. the mane is awash with tears (as a result of grief) and therefore in a disorderly state. A lioness with a mane seems to be envisaged also at Virg. *G.* 4.408 *fulua ceruice leaena*. Animals shedding tears (though for different reasons) occur elsewhere in epic (Hom. *Il.* 17.426–40, Virg. *Aen.* 11.90; with reference to lions cf. Claud. *In Eutr.* 2.303 *torui lacrimis maduere leones*). In Homer the horses' manes get wet from their tears (*Il.* 17.437–40).

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INDEX

- Accius, 3
- Apollonius Rhodius, 17, 61, 74, 82, 91, 105, 124, 137, 141, 147, 149, 152, 155, 161, 176, 185, 186, 192, 193, 195, 221–2, 229, 239, 256, 258
- Argonautic myth, 3
- Argonautica*, themes, 12, 62, 82 *at*, 86
- battle narrative, 93, 103, 108, 115, 120, 122, 124, 130, 132
- book 3
structure, 25, 60, 186, 210
themes, 27
- Catullus, 3
ceui, 89
conjunction, postponed, 79
Cybele, 60, 70, 72, 124
Cyzicus, 30–1, 64, 70, 82, 125
- date of composition, 5, 121
Doliones, 64
Domitian, 1, 4
- Ennius, 3
- funeral speeches, 140–1, 147–8
- gods and fate, 16, 68, 74, 77, 82, 119, 131, 132, 134, 150, 153, 164, 194, 204, 230, 236, 256
golden line, 76
guilt, 62, 70, 124, 138, 140, 167, 170, 173
- Hercules, 29, 100, 108, 193, 200–1, 222, 252
Homer, 75, 90, 103, 138, 148, 150, 151, 171, 187, 199, 240, 254
Hylas, 30, 113, 114, 193, 210
hyperbole, 147, 153, 157, 209
- ium*, 159
infinitive, historic, 83
interea, 98
intertexts, 19
- irony, tragic, 88, 98, 119, 130, 218, 245
- Jason, 29, 105, 163, 232, 252, 256
Juno, 198, 200, 204, 205, 206, 208, 210, 245
Jupiter, 68, 131, 132, 133, 225, 236
- language and style, 19–20
length of poem, 7
- Martial, 2
Meleager, 30, 240, 242
metonymy, 64, 65, 85, 87, 105, 133, 159, 160, 215
metre, 20, 116, 189, 199, 227, 231
Minyae, 86
Mopsus, 30, 94, 161, 164, 167
Muses, 68, 122
- oracles, 143, 235
Ovid, 3, 71, 92, 125, 141, 171, 195, 206, 211, 245
- Pacuvius, 3
Pallas, 199, 200, 205
patronymic, 64, 65, 84, 119, 129, 140, 177, 250, 253, 257, 260
philosophy, 16
Propertius, 194, 214, 228
- Seneca, 3, 206, 248, 256
Silius Italicus, 2, 80, 82, 117, 163, 188, 228, 240
similes, 84, 90–1, 93, 95, 96, 101, 108–9, 121, 134–5, 139, 160, 187, 224, 225, 226, 238, 261
Statius, 1–2, 64, 71, 156, 190, 197
structure of poem, 10–11, 153, 155
- Telamon, 30, 239, 250
Tiphys, 64, 76, 132, 134, 196, 234
Titus, 1, 4
transmission, 31–2, 65–6, 87, 146

- Valerius Flaccus
 life, 1-2, 161
 Varro Atacinus, 3
 Vespasian, 1, 4
 Virgil, 18, 61, 68, 71, 72, 74, 75, 82, 90,
 92, 113, 117, 122, 125, 136, 137,
 139-40, 141, 148, 149, 150, 151,
 152, 155, 156, 163, 165, 185, 186,
 188, 194, 197, 198, 199, 204, 205,
 206, 208, 210, 211, 217, 227, 231,
 233, 240, 245, 253-4, 260
 winds, 91, 155-6, 162, 230, 233,
 243, 252